Critical Readings on the Manchus in Modern China (1616–2012)

Volume One

Edited by

Lars Laamann

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CONTENTS

Volume One

Introduction: Journey to Manchuria 1
Lars Laamann

PART ONE

HISTORICITY AND ARCHIVES

1. Books of Revelations: The Importance of the Manchu Language Archival Record Books for Research on Ch'ing History 11
Beatrice S. Bartlett

2. An Example of the Evolution of Manchu Historiography 21
Giovanni Stary

3. The Manchu-language Archives of the Qing Dynasty and the Origins of the Palace Memorial System 27
Mark C. Elliott

4. Sino-Manchu Translations at the Mukden Court 93
Stephen Durrant

5. Introduction to the Manchu Text Version of the Ch'ing Emperors, Ch'i-chü-chu (Notes on the Emperors' Daily Activities) 107
Ch'en Chieh-Hsien

6. A Study of the Manchu Posthumous Titles of the Ch'ing Emperors 125
Ch'en Chieh-Hsien

7. The Value of "*The Early Manchu Archives*" 131
Ch'en Chieh-Hsien

8. 'Tribute-bearers in Manchu and Chinese': A Unique 18th-century Source for East and Central Asian History 145
Hartmut Walravens

9. A Set of Manchu Documents Concerning a Khokand Mission to Kashgar (1807) 157
Nicola Di Cosmo

10. A Historical Sketch of the Study and Teaching of the Manchu Language in Russia (First Part: Up to 1920) 197
Tatiana Aleksandrova Pang

PART TWO

HISTORICITY AND STATECRAFT

11. The Controversy among Western Sinologists Regarding the Utility of Sino-Manchu Translations 213
Stephen W. Durrant

12. Manchu Language Resources in the People's Republic of China: A Comprehensive Review [Review Essay on Sixteen Publications Dating from 1983 to 2006] 223
Ning Chia

13. The Qing Imperial Credentials in the St. Petersburg Collections 239
T.A. Pang, N.G. Pchelin

14. Whose Empire Shall It Be? Manchu Figurations of Historical Process in the Early Seventeenth Century 251
Mark C. Elliott

15. *Nurgači* Versus *Nurhači*: An Annotation to P. Adam Schall [On How to Read the Personal Name of the Founder of the Manchu Empire] 287
Martin Gimm

16. Some Preliminary Remarks on the Authenticity and Historical Value of Qing Taizu Nurhaci's "Holy Teachings" (The Manchu Version—*Enduringge Tacihiyan*) 295
Giovanni Stary

17. Competing Strategies of Great Khan Legitimacy in the Context of the Chaqar-Manchu Wars (c. 1620–1634) 307
Nicola Di Cosmo

18. Folklore Motif and the Portrayal of Nurhaci in the *Man-chou Shih-lu* 323
Stephen W. Durrant

19. Nurhachi and Abahai: Their Palace and Mausolea; The Manchu Adoption and Adaptation of Chinese Architecture 335
Paula Swart and Barry Till

20. The Manchu Conquest of China 355
F.W. Williams

21. Memories of the Manchu Wars of the Seventeenth Century in East Asia and Literary Descriptions of the Qing Dynasty 369
Kwon Hyeok Rae

Volume Two

22. Claiming Dynastic Legitimacy: Qing Strategies during the Dorgon Era 387
Chen-Main Wang

23. Censor, Regent and Emperor in the Early Manchu Period (1644–1660) 419
Adam Yuen-Chung Lui

24. An Examination of Manchu Sinicization as Reflected in the Central Government of the Early Ch'ing Period 433
Chieh-Hsien Ch'en

25. Manchu-Chinese Relations and the Imperial "Equal Treatment" Policy, 1651–1660 441
Adam Yuen-Chung Lui

26. An Early Manchu-Chinese Patent of Nobility 461
John L. Mish

27. From Feudalism to Bureaucratic Rule: The Control of Princes and Manchu Officials, 1644–1661 469
Adam Yuen-Chung Lui

28. Newly Available Manchu Documents Pertaining to Sino-Western Relations in the Kangxi Period 485
Eugenio Menegon

29. Beyond the Willow Palisade: Manchuria and the History of China's Inner Asian Frontier 513
David Sneath

30. The Ch'ing Empire as a Manchu Khanate: The Structure of Rule under the Eight Banners 525
Sugiyama Kiyohiko

31. Comparing Empires: Manchu Colonialism 553
Peter C. Perdue

PART THREE

ETHNICITY

32. The Meaning of the Word "Manchu": A New Solution to an Old Problem 563
Giovanni Stary

33. A Profile of the Manchu Language in Ch'ing History 573
Pamela Kyle Crossley and Evelyn S. Rawski

34. The Question of the Place where the Manchu Ancestors Originated 611
Wang Zhong-Han

35. Identity Construction and Reconstruction: Naming and Manchu Ethnicity in Northeast China, 1749–1909 631
Cameron Campbell, James Z. Lee and Mark Elliott

36. A Description of the Tartars (Manchus) by the Jesuit Gabriel de Magalhães in 1647 When He First Encountered Them at the Time of Their Conquest of China 659
Joseph S. Sebes, S.J.

37. Manchus as Ethnographic Subject in the Qing 667
Mark C. Elliott

38. On the Chinese Version of Some Manchu Imperial Titles 687
Friedrich A. Bischoff

39. Bannerman and Townsman: Ethnic Tension in Nineteenth-century Jiangnan 695
Mark C. Elliott

40. The Manchu-Chinese Relationship, 1618–1636 735
Gertraude Roth

41. Marital Politics on the Manchu-Mongol Frontier in the Early Seventeenth Century 767
Nicola Di Cosmo

Volume Three

42. Eastern Barbarian Consciousness in *Research on Manchu Origins* 785
Song Jhune Hyueck

43. An Unknown Chapter in the History of Manchu Writing: The "Indian Letters" (*Tianzhu Zi* 天竺字) 797
Giovanni Stary

44. About Ideology of the Early Qing Dynasty 809
Aleksander Stepanovich Martynov and Tatiana A. Pang

45. *Manzhou yuanliu kao* and the Formalization of the Manchu Heritage 821
Pamela Kyle Crossley

46. Ethnicity in the Qing Eight Banners 861
Mark C. Elliott

47. Manchu Widows and Ethnicity in Qing China 895
Mark C. Elliott

48. A Manchu Itinerary 941
Andrej Rudnev

PART FOUR

RELIGION

49. Religious and Lay Symbolism of Imperial Manchu Practices in Observing the New Year 971
Ch'en Chieh-Hsien

50. The Manchu Imperial Shamanic Complex *Tangse* 979
Giovanni Stary

51. Ny Dan the Manchu Shamaness 989
Kun Shi

52. Performed Spontaneity: The Bureaucratization of Shamanic Ways in the Qianlong-era 995
Erling von Mende

53. Immortals and Patriarchs: The Daoist World of a Manchu Official and His Family in Nineteenth-century China 1009
Xun Liu

54. Manchu Patronage and Tibetan Buddhism during the First Half of the Ch'ing Dynasty: A Review Article 1073
Samuel M. Grupper

55. The Manchu Version of the Amitāyus-sūtra 1099
John L. Mish

56. The Conceptual Framework of the dGa's-Idan's War Based on the *Beye Dailame Wargi Amargi Babe Necihiyeme Toktobuha Bodogon i Bithe*, 'Buddhist Government' in the Tibet-Mongol and Manchu Relationship 1115
Ishihama Yumiko

57. The Secret Manchu Documents on the Trial of Jesuit Missionary Johann Adam Schall (1592–1666) Before the Supreme Court of Peking 1125
Shu-Jyuan Deiwiks

58. A Catholic Catechism in Manchu 1135
John L. Mish

59. Jesuit Influence in Emperor K'ang-Hsi's Manchu Letters 1145
Hidehiro Okada

60. Christian Literature in Manchu: Some Bibliographical Notes 1151
Hartmut Walravens

61. Manchu Christians and the Sunu Family 1175
John W. Witek

Volume Four

PART FIVE

SOCIETY AND KNOWLEDGE

62. The Cultured Nature of Imperial Foraging in Manchuria 1181
David Bello

63. Manchu Education 1213
Pamela Kyle Crossley

64. Imperial Science Written in Manchu in Early Qing China: Does it Matter? 1257
Catherine Jami

65. Legal Pluralism in the Qing Empire: Manchu Legislation for the Mongols 1281
Dorothea Heuschert

66. Contending Cartographic Claims? The Qing Empire in Manchu, Chinese, and European Maps 1297
Laura Hostetler

67. A Manchu Fragment on the Medical Treatment Given by the Italian Jesuit Giovanni Giuseppe Da Costa to Yin-ssŭ, Eighth Son of K'ang-hsi 1345
Nicola Di Cosmo

68. Medical Knowledge of the Manchus and the Manchu Anatomy 1355
Hartmut Walravens

PART SIX

LATE QING AND THE CHINESE REPUBLIC

69. Some Documents Concerning the Complement of Manchu Garrison Companies at Chapu in the Mid-19th Century 1371
C.R. Bawden

70. The Manchu-Han Relations in the Days of 1898 Reform Movement; A Revisionist View 1395
Min Tu-Ki

71. Historical Trauma: Anti-Manchuism and Memories of Atrocity in Late Qing China 1405
Peter Zarrow

72. Anti-Manchu Racism and the Rise of Anthropology in Early 20th Century China 1441
Ishikawa Yoshihiro

73. Reinventing *China*: Imperial Qing Ideology and the Rise of Modern Chinese National Identity in the Early Twentieth Century 1467
Gang Zhao

74. From Warriors to Farmers: The Changing Social Status of Manchu and Mongol Bannermen on the Heilongjiang Frontier, 1905–1931 1495
Patrick Fuliang Shan

75. Princess, Traitor, Soldier, Spy: Aisin Gioro Xianyu and the Dilemma of Manchu Identity 1511
Dan Shao

PART SEVEN

MANCHU TODAY, MANCHU TOMORROW

76. Past and Present of a Manchu Tribe: The Sibe 1547
Liliya Gorelova

77. Identity Reproducers Beyond the Grassroots: The Middle Class in the Manchu Revival Since the 1980s 1555
Lian Bai

Index 1583

INTRODUCTION: JOURNEY TO MANCHURIA

Lars Laamann

The Changing Face of Manchu Studies during the Long Twentieth Century

A visitor from a distant galaxy may be forgiven for failing to understand the current preoccupation with a numerically insignificant ethnic entity, which lacks virtually all of the common denominators usually applied to the identification of national groups.[1] Little does our extraterrestrial friend know that even by the end of the nineteenth century the same ethnic group was considered to be so strong that China was known as the Manchu empire.[2] *Critical Readings: on Manchu History* is concerned with the evolution of academic research into the Manchus as a historical phenomenon over the past century. This starting point of our historiographic examination has to be the events of 1911, when the Manchus had been written off by many as villains of the past and as a people without a future.

The present *Critical Readings* deal with the history of the Manchus, both as an ethnic group as well as the incipient state. The point of ignition for our historical study was chosen rather arbitrarily, with the proclamation of the Jürchen Jin 金 dynasty in 1616, coinciding with Nurhaci's declaration of himself as Great Khan of the Jin, the creation of a script based on Mongolian for written Manchu and that his Tungusic people henceforth be known as 'Manchus'. This decision had as much to do with national self-invention as with the politics of forging alliances with the predominantly Lamaist Mongolian and Tibetan populations encircling the northern boundaries of the Ming realm. As detailed beneath, several contributions will be dealing with this historically exceptional gestation period.

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[1] Safe the most important one, namely that of the invented national community. Cf. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1983, p. 6.

[2] Possibly the first reference being Martinus Martini's *De Bello Tartarico Historia* of 1654, with late nineteenth-and early twentieth-century publications (for instance as late as in 1918, when Enrique Heras published *La Dinastia Manchu de China*) using the same stereotype without much reflection.

These volumes attempt to illustrate the key developments in Manchu historiography over the past one hundred years, but especially since the early 1980s. In this respect, they analyse a trend away from an early "ethnographic" phase to the historical analysis of Qing institutions, increasingly with emphasis on sociological interpretation, rather than the *vitae sanctorum (et bestiarum)* of times gone by. The constituent seventy-seven articles and book chapters thus encapsulate the state-of-the-art in Manchu history studies. No claim is being made that the reprinted contributions monopolise the very peak of innovative research; the emphasis was rather on the search for representative examples, for research reflecting the preoccupations of the periods when the authors were active. On the contrary, a small handful of internationally acclaimed contributions were not selected, since they are firstly relatively recent and secondly easily accessible. This edition of *Critical Readings* therefore gives a voice to authors whose meticulous research has been neglected in recent years, often because their contributions are buried in now obscure publications pre-dating the electronic period by decades. A second structural weakness of the current publication is that it had to be limited to articles and chapters written in English. Implicitly, a major portion of the relevant research in Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Mongolian is only indirectly represented, namely in translation or as part of the literature reviews contained in some of our contributions. To a lesser extent, the same goes for research penned in other European languages, with German, French and Russian being the main casualties. A future, perhaps electronic, sequel to our *Critical Readings* may well attempt to address this deficiency.

In structure, the present volumes are divided up into six thematic blocks representing a variety of aspects relating to Manchu history and thus, inextricably entwined, also to the history of the Qing dynasty. Simultaneously, the structure also contains a chronological element, linking together its constituent parts by following the Manchu people's progression from tribal communities to formalised stakeholders of the realm they masterminded. Logically, the final two parts contain articles relating to the Manchus' fate and identity during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, terminating in an assessment of the ethnic revival movement in the present era.

Besides the chronological element of Manchu historiography, our contributions have also been subdivided into blocks corresponding to common themes. The first such block, Part 1 ("Historicity and Archives"), has a twofold function: Manchu sources are, firstly, being introduced as part of Qing historiography and, secondly, concrete case studies are presented based on such sources. The former function is stressed in Beatrice Bartlett's "Books of Revelations", spelling out the relevance of documentary sources written in Manchu. This is followed by an evolutionary archival study by Giovanni Stary and Mark Elliott's exploration of how Manchu sources can add to our understanding of the imperial memorial system. In bluntly concrete mode, Stephen Durrant provides examples of translations from and into Chinese at the first Qing court in Mukden, while two articles by Ch'en Chieh-hsien analyse the Qing emperors' daily activities as well as their posthumous titles. whereas a conference paper by Ch'en Chieh-hsien airs the "Manchu Veritable Records" as a potential gold mine for historical evidence on the early Qing. While most elements of this first part deal with the relevance of Manchu archives for our understanding of the development of the Qing dynasty, Hartmut Walravens and Nicola di Cosmo supply two examples of source texts. Walravens carefully analyses the discrepancies between Chinese and Manchu texts detailing eighteenth-century tribute missions, whereas di Cosmo dissects a small handful of Manchu documents on an early nineteenth-century mission from the Fergana valley to Kashgar. Tatiana Pang, finally, provides more concrete archival examples outlining the state of Manchu language studies in Russia, a major repository of Manchu language sources.

The second part ("Historicity and Statecraft") is concerned with the practical application of textual resources in Manchu, starting off with Stephen Durrant's epoch-making paper at the 1978 conference on Qing archives in Taibei. In his paper, Durrant explored the relative usefulness of analysing documents authored in Manchu, given the vast number of memorials, circulars and petitions in preserved in Chinese. Durrant's clear endorsement would inspire a new generation of historians to learn the other dynastic language. The subsequent review article by Ning Chia provides the link with the contemporary Qing studies scene, providing an overview of archival studies in China from the 1980s to 2006. The next article by Tatiana Pang is intended to remind readers of the importance the Qing attached to Russia, and thus of the Qing manuscripts located in the Tsardom's capital of St Petersburg. "Whose empire shall it be?" by Mark Elliott introduces a more interpretative cluster within this second part, focusing on the earliest Jin and Qing decades. The intriguing role Nurhaci assumed in the founding of the Qing is investigated in the subsequent studies by Martin Gimm, Giovanni Stary, Nicola di Cosmo, Stephen Durrant as well as, posthumously, in the architectural contribution by Paula Swart and Barry Till. Nurhaci's keen sense of his own historical importance having been exhaustively dealt with, a second sequence of contributions focuses on "the conquest" itself, culminating in the military campaigns of the 1640s. The juxtaposition of F.W. Williams's "Manchu conquest of China" penned in 1913, not even two years after the end of the Qing dynasty, with the two very recent contributions by Kwon Hyeok Rae and Wang Chen-main is meant to juxtapose the interpretative changes which one century of historical research have produced. These three articles are followed by a string of case studies by Adam Lui, Ch'en Chieh-hsien, John Mish and Eugenio Menegon, focusing on aspects of cooperation between the Manchu court and Han Chinese scholar officials in the tumultuous Dorgon-Shunzhi-Kangxi corridor. Three texts by David Sneath, Sugiyama Kiyohiko and Peter Perdue lead the reader's gaze away from Han China to the dynasty's tightly-woven network of contacts with the Mongolian tribes and the peoples of central Asia, as the other central pillar of Qing rule.

Part three ("Ethnicity") extends the inner Asian thrust of the preceding contributions into the very core concept of Qing rule, namely the careful balancing of the ethnic entities which made up its realm. Whether justified by new political (Manchu-Mongol) privileges, ancient conventions (Tibet), numerical strength (Han) or as part of the complex network of ethnic affiliation in the newly conquered territories in central Asia and in southern China, the struggle for a voice within the Qing enterprise would be a common theme until the very end of the dynasty—and in many ways until the present day. A first group of authors, namely Giovanni Stary, Pamela Crossley, Evelyn Rawski, Wang Zhong-han, Cameron Campbell, James Lee and Mark Elliott, focus on the inception of Manchu identity as part of the imperial enterprise. A subsequent cluster of ethnic investigations, represented by Joseph Sebes, Mark Elliott and Friedrich Bischoff, report on the perception of Manchu ethnicity during the early Qing by Chinese and Europeans. Both are followed by five contributions, i.e. those by Gertraude Roth Li, Nicola Di Cosmo, Song Jhune Hyuek, Giovanni Stary, as well as Aleksander Martynov and Tatiana Pang, on bilateral ties between Manchus and Chinese, Mongols, Koreans, 'Indians' and Tibetans—both at a popular level and as far as their elites were concerned. The remarkable observation in this context is that the inter-ethnic identity of the Qing provided the empire with a potentially endless ability to expand, by means of the same military and inter-tribal allegiances which had generated the nucleus of Qing identity. As a final cycle of contributions in this part, Pamela Crossley, Mark Elliott and Andrej Rudnev examine the institutionalisation of Manchu ethnicity during the dynasty's *longue durée*, both in ideological terms and in the very concrete ways the former affected the lives of ordinary Manchu subjects.

The fourth part is devoted to religion—and thus entitled "Religion". As relative late-comers to Buddhism, the early Manchus had an insatiable appetite to harmonise customs hailing from the distant nomadic origins of the Jürchen peoples with the eternal transcendental concepts which Buddhism promised. In this religious adaptation process, the central role of shamanic agency proved a reliable constant, preserving its tasks and rituals beyond the end of the dynasty in 1911. Manchu shamanism resonated with the Tibetan interpretation of Buddhism, providing the dynasty's founders with a cosmological justification for (universal) rule. Lamaism, combined with the shamanistic beliefs of the steppe, finally also provided an inseparable link with the Mongolian peoples and banners and those of the Manchus. This Jürchen/Tungusic shamanic complex is investigated by Ch'en Chieh-hsien, Giovanni Stary, Shi Kun and Erling von Mende, both in terms of the religious universe it reflected and of its role in dynastic ritual. Another group of contributions, authored by Liu Xun, Samuel Grupper, John Mish and Ishiyama Yumiko, explores the preoccupation of the Manchu elite with alternative religious concepts—chiefly Lamaism, but also Daoism, as the basis of China's religious system. The third and final group of this exploration of Manchu religious life is aimed at illuminating the role and perceptions of Christianity at the court and amongst banner families. Shu-Jyuan Deiwiks, John Mish, Okada Hidehiro, Hartmut Walravens and John Witek provide a vivid image of the early Qing rulers' fascination with the teachings of the European missionaries, as well as the attempts by members of the Manchu banner elite to translate the Christian message into the Manchu mindset and language. Witek's exploration of the Sunu clan's religious identity as well as its role within the Manchu aristocracy prepare the way for the following fifth part, "Society and Knowledge", which provides an overview of educational and political trends amongst banner families.

Part Five thus sheds light on the early Manchus' attempts at carving out a space in areas of knowledge hitherto almost completely reserved to the brushstrokes of the Chinese scholar-official meritocracy. David Bello's recent exploration of the geographical origins of the socio-cultural myths surrounding Manchu identity in the Qing provides the starting block of this part. Equating the biodiversity of the Manchurian landscape with the cultural diversity of the Manchurian human, an intricate embroidery of interdependence between mythicised nature and the myth of the gentle hunter-warrior is being woven. The ultimate decline of the Manchurian ecosystem is thus interpreted as one of the chief reasons for the decline of Manchu civilisation. The more formal, book-based compendium to this ecological type of Manchu education is explained by Pamely Crossley, further refined by Catherine Jami, who concentrates on the appropriation of scientific knowledge in Manchu. Dorothea Heuschert and Laura Hostetler continue the theme of transferred knowledge preserved in Manchu documents by analysing their insight into legislation and cartography, respectively. Nicola di Cosmo and Hartmut Walravens, finally, open up the world of medical knowledge during the early Qing, their articles in themselves treasure troves of vocabulary relating to Manchu science.

A considerable majority of Manchu history (as opposed to Qing history) writing tends to deal with the Manchus' national gestation period and the first three generations of Qing rule. Consequently, virtually all of the contributions reproduced in the first five parts of our *Critical Readings* follow this pattern. Part Six ("Late Qing and the Chinese Republic") constitutes an exception, being firmly focused on the historical turbulences between the Taiping Wars and the Manchukuo puppet regime. Charles Bawden's study of the mid-nineteenth century Chapu garrison provides the prelude, documenting the last days of the banner system's *ancien régime*. This still-life is followed by Min Tu-ki's "revisionist" analysis of inter-ethnic relations on the eve of 1898. Min's conference paper would, in 1981, rise like a distress flare from an ocean of received historical interpretation. The two recent articles by Peter Zarrow and Ishikawa Yoshihiro take the collective fate of China's Manchus one step further, by referring to the traumatic final decade of the Qing dynasty. Be it as the result of the Confucian preoccupation with ancestry or under the influence of emerging Western concepts of race and genetic descent, the Qing concept of ethnic harmony was put under almost terminable strain. For many garrison communities, the events of 1911 were less the sign of a political revolution rather than ethnic pogroms. Once the storm of 1911 had passed, with its untypically acrimonious discourse amongst China's intellectual elite, an urgent need for a redefinition of the Manchus' ethnic identity was called for. The last three contributions of this part thus deal with the adaptation of Manchu communities to the overwhelmingly Han Chinese society they existed side-by-side with. Zhao Gang takes the lead, in a retrospective analysis of ethnic and national identity in late imperial and in republican discourse. Patrick Shan continues with a case study exploring the impact of the rapidly dissolving Qing order on the Manchu as well as Mongol banner communities in northern Manchuria. But even after this definitive end of separate social identity and privileged political status, the question of identity was by no means consigned to the past. In the crossfire between various expressions of Chineseness as well as rapidly expanding notions of Japanese superiority, the period between the 1920s and the end of the Second World War brought pitfalls as well as unexpected opportunities. Shao Dan's article on Aisin Gioro Xianyu thus ends this introduction into Manchu identity in the maelstrom of Republican China.

Part Seven ("Manchu Today, Manchu Tomorrow"), eventually, provides the post-script to our *tour de force* through four hundred years of Manchu history. Consisting of no more than two ethnographic and sociological, respectively, articles, today's Manchu communities are being explored. Liliya Gorelova takes the Sibe under the microscope, descendants of banner troops stations in the far western corner of the Qing empire, and arguably China's most authentic Manchu speakers. Bai Lian adopts a more holistic vision, focusing on the Manchu revival which could be witnessed since the end of the since the Cultural Revolution. However marginal today's Manchus may be in China's vastness, their communities play a role which goes well beyond the historical. Those of us who entertain personal acquaintances with Chinese people of Manchu descent will be familiar with the multiple layers of identity, and occasional dilemmas, which life in the People's Republic of China can bring along. But what appears to be certain is that the resurrection of Manchu identity is showing signs of having become irreversible.

At the end of one century of academic preoccupation with the Manchus, there is one question that remains: Does a people with an invented collective identity deserve a collective history? Cynics would claim that Manchu history and Qing history are identical notions from the 1630s onwards and that much of the later interpretations are nothing but the result of an idealising discourse about a people's mythical origins and heroic nature. The vilifications by late Qing intellectuals would thus represent the negative image of the same fanciful invention of history. However, it is due to the remarkable acceleration of historical interest since the early 1980s that this conclusion is not viable. The unveiling of significant, newly-accessible archival sources has made it possible to rewrite the accepted "May Fourth" historical discourse concerning both the nineteenth century and the Qing in its entirety. Both within China and at an international level, Manchu studies no longer serve as an example of historical and ethnographic exoticism, but are becoming an integral part of mainstream academic interest. *Critical Readings: The Manchus in Modern China* are thus part of a historical process which only a couple of decades ago would have appeared premature. At the present point in time, we trust that our publication will help sustain the recent wave of interest, by providing researchers and students with a focal point in their search for secondary sources.

Our heartfelt gratitude thus goes out to all authors, editors and publishers for their willingness to support our project. Some authors had misgivings about the release of contributions which they had made in the formative periods of their research, in particular when earlier conclusions needed to be revised in the light of more recent archival discoveries. However, their work forms an important part of the gestation of Manchu studies in its modern manifestation, not unlike other aspects of historical research, were it not for the dramatic uncovering of new archival materials in Manchu script.

Finally, the copyright pertaining to the contributions reproduced in these volumes has been investigated to the best of editor's knowledge and by painstakingly following the advice of the authors, editors and publishers involved in the publications this series is based upon. In case of any inadvertent errors concerning intellectual property rights, please contact the editor via the publisher (BRILL, Leiden), and all reasonable claims shall be honoured. At this point, we would also like to thank all the librarians and archival specialists who provided advice in the search for some of the more obscure publications. Although all editorial responsibility remains mine, the effort in producing these volumes was truly collective.

London, December 2012

Dr Lars Peter Laamann
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PART ONE

HISTORICITY AND ARCHIVES

■ Source: Bartlett, Beatrice S., 'Books of revelations: The importance of the Manchu language archival record books for research on Ch'ing history' in *Late Imperial China*, Vol. 6, No. 2, © 1985 by the society for Qing studies. Reprinted with permission of The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 25–36.

BOOKS OF REVELATIONS: THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MANCHU LANGUAGE ARCHIVAL RECORD BOOKS FOR RESEARCH ON CH'ING HISTORY

Beatrice S. Bartlett*

The received wisdom on the Manchu language archives of the Ch'ing dynasty has been that historians of the Ch'ing have little need either to learn Manchu or to use Manchu materials for research on historical subjects. Learning Chinese will suffice, the argument goes, because the Ch'ing dyarchical principle guaranteed that everything written in Manchu was also recorded in Chinese. Indeed, some Manchu specialists have averred that once the historian gets past 1644, Manchu materials merely provide opportunities to employ the many available dual texts to enhance knowledge of both languages. This outlook was so strongly ingrained in the profession that until Professor Joseph Fletcher formed a Manchu class of seven students at Harvard University in the autumn of 1981, only one student with an interest in Ch'ing history had previously received extensive training in that language from him. A handful of other institutions paid attention to the study of Manchu, but in general the study of other inner Asian languages, Mongol in particular, flourished, while few Ch'ing historians saw any necessity to take up Manchu.

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My position on this issue was dramatically altered in April 1981 when I spotted a group of about a dozen record books with unfamiliar titles (such as *Han* [or *Man*] *Chün-chi tang-an tsung-ts'e* [General list of Chinese, or Manchu, Grand Council Archival records]), in the Beijing Number One Historical Archives' Grand Council finding list. Once I had these ledgers in my hands I was elated to discover that they were a record series I had known of but for which I had seen no modern references—the Ch'ing Grand Council Archives Section's (*Chün-chi ch'u Man-Han tang-fang*) own inventories, compiled at intervals as part of the required copying of records that had to be done once or twice each decade. Today we can use these ledgers to identify the major Grand Council record series, to measure their rate of survival to the present day (it is very high), and to study Ch'ing archival curatorship.[1] In contrast with what has hitherto been thought, these inventories indicate that many unique Manchu documents, never translated into Chinese, were produced in the middle and even the late Ch'ing. For the late Yung-cheng period, for instance, there were ten times as many Grand Council record books in Manchu as in Chinese. The inventories also supply valuable clues about these records because the series titles inform us of the great variety of subjects we may expect to find treated in Manchu once we are given access to the documents. Future Ch'ing historians may well find the study of Manchu worthwhile.

In what follows I shall ignore a large part of the Ch'ing period Manchu-language archives and concentrate on the records available to me in 1981; the Grand Council's own archival inventories (now on deposit at the Number One). Most of my estimates and conclusions are not based on direct examination of the Manchu holdings themselves (in general these have not yet been completely sorted and made available to outside researchers) but only on the Ch'ing inventories.[2] The findings presented below, therefore, are only a beginning venture into uncharted territory.

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[1] See my "Ch'ing-tai Chün-chi ch'u ti tang-an kuan-li chih-tu—kuan-liao t'i-chih ch'uang-hsin chih-i yen-chiu" (Ch'ing Grand Council Archival Curatorship—A Study of Bureaucratic Innovation), paper presented at the Ming-Ch'ing Research Symposium, Beijing, October 1985.

[2] I was able to examine a few materials classified as Manchu because some Grand Council Manchu records contain such a mixture of Chinese and Manchu materials (not translations or duplicates but simply a variety of entries in both languages) that in modern times they have been filed with Chinese-language materials and as a result were available to me in 1980–81. See, for example, the discussion of the *Ho-t'u-li tang*, below. This is also true of a few records in Taipei.

The inventories I examined may be used to provide a preliminary sketch of Grand Council Manchu archival holdings; at some point in the future we may find that similar situations exist for other Ch'ing government agencies that dealt with Manchu-language materials.[3]

The storage lists on which my figures are based were compiled at various intervals in the middle and late Ch'ing by the Chinese and Manchu sections of the Grand Council (*Han* and *Man Chün-chi* or *Han* and *Man-pan*). They were designed to keep track of what documents had already been copied and therefore existed in duplicate, and what still needed to be copied.[4] The earliest list contains information through CL51 (1786); the latest is dated KHsu2 (1876) but its information stops late in the T'ung-chih reign. In addition to the two major divisions of language, the lists were also subdivided into sections for memorial copies in the Grand Council reference collection (*Chün-chi ch'u lu-fu tsou-che*) and originals and copies of record books.[5] The inventories of record books were further divided into those which covered specialized topics (*tsa-hsiang*, today often called *chuan-an*) and others which simply contained miscellaneous materials chronologically arranged. In general these inventories were meticulously drawn up: the Grand Council reference collection packets for the eighteenth century were listed month by month, with the packets on specialized topics (*tsa-hsiang yueh-che pao*) separately recorded. On one list, however, the same figures were given twice in two different categories, suggesting that the copyist fell asleep over his figures or that the compilers were too lazy to take an accurate inventory.

The lists are not always easy to interpret, particularly where the modern researcher wishes to make comparisons and draw conclusions that the original registrars did not have in mind. Many of the lists were not drawn in parallel terms; not all terminology was standardized. In some places, for instance, the character *cheng* was used to mean an original volume, with *fu* denoting its copy. In other lists, however, these usages were reversed, *cheng* meaning the later more carefully fashioned copy rather than the earlier and perhaps hastily noted original. Comparisons of the volume of Manchu as opposed to Chinese records are also difficult because Manchu script takes up more space than Chinese; merely counting record books, therefore, may not yield completely reliable figures for comparison. Moreover, some record book series underwent name changes or reformatting—a series bound in one tse per season might be altered to twelve or thirteen smaller albums per year with no significant change in volume of information recorded. Nevertheless, if it is allowed that all these variables may have affected all the lists in approximately similar fashion, roughly equal margins of error may be expected in all the figures, with the result that a balance of sorts may be achieved without supplementary calibration.

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[3] I have not examined the inventories or materials of other Ch'ing organizations such as the Imperial Household, the Eight Banners, and the Court of Colonial Affairs, which, like the Manchu section of the Grand Council, also carried on much of their work in Manchu. The fact that the Ch'ing Grand Council inventoried its own archival holdings suggests that other organizations may also have done the same thing and that in the future it may be possible to identify and analyze those other inventories.

[4] The Grand Council inventories that I saw at the Number One Historical Archives in Beijing were in files numbered 2258, 2259, and 2260. The relevant record book titles are: Man Chün-chi tang-an tsung-mu cheng/fu-pen ping yueh-che (cover marked CL1–60), Ch'ing-ch'a ko-tang chi-tsai pu (covering Manchu materials, dated HF3), Man-k'u tang-an ts'ao-pen ch'ing-ts'e (dated HF1/11), and Kuang-hsu erh-nien ch'ing-ch'a tang-an pu-ts'e (dated Kuang-hsu 2).

[5] Originals of the palace memorials stored under the supervision of the Chancery of Memorials (*Tsou-shih ch'u*) were not inventoried in the Grand Council reference collection; presumably there were separate Chancery of Memorials inventories (I have not seen these).

The figures provided in the Grand Council storage inventories show that during the Council's first half century there was a steady increase in the volume of paper produced by this new central government agency. They also show that in the very early years the volume of Grand Council materials in Manchu by far exceeded the volume of Chinese language documents. For instance, a late Ch'ing inventory recorded 111 Manchu language Grand Council record books surviving for the Yung-cheng years, or an average of 18.5 volumes for each of the six years beginning with the Grand Council founding in YC8 (1730).[6] The comparable figure for surviving Chinese language record books for the same period is only ten volumes, all from the last three years of the reign, an average of 1.66 per year for the years when the Grand Council was in operation. In other words, the Yung-cheng Grand Council (YC8-13) produced eleven times more record books in Manchu than in Chinese. Even if we posit a five percent loss rate for the Chinese language materials (because they were probably referred to more often in later years), there would still be ten times as many Manchu record books as Chinese. Such discrepancies cannot be explained merely by the fact that written Manchu takes up more space than Chinese.

Inventory Record Book Totals for Manchu and Chinese Original Volumes
(The average per year is shown in parentheses after each reign total)

Reign	Manchu Record Books	Chinese Record Books
YC (1730–35 only)	111 (18.5)	10 (1.6)
CL (1736–95)	1530 (25.5)	496 (8.3)
CC (1796–1820)	523 (20.9)	363 (14.5)
TK (1821–50)	687 (22.9)	504 (16.8)
HF (1851–61)	265 (24.1)	299 (27.2)
TC (1864–72 only)	250 (22.7)	298 (29.8) (to 1871 only)

Inventory Totals for Memorial Copies in the Grand Council Reference Collection
(Averages per year in parentheses)

Reign	Bundles of Memorial Copies in Manchu	Bundles of Memorial Copies in Chinese
YC (1730–35 only)	36 (6)	53 (8.8)
CL (1736–95)	597 (10)	675 (11.25)
CC (1796–1820)	308 (12.3)	561 (22.4)
TK (1821–50)	369 (12.3)	–[a]
HF (1851–61)	131 (11.9)	–[a]
TC (1862–72 only)	136 (12.4)	–[a]

[a] No figures available.

When the palace memorial copies rather than record books are considered, the discrepancies are reversed but the disparities are not so great. For memorial copies (*Chün-chi ch'u lu-fu tsou-che*), the storage unit of measurement was the memorial packet (*che-pao*), a group of from 25 to 100 chronologically related memorial copies stored together in a packet wrapped in a paper thong. For the Grand Council years of the Yung-cheng period the inventories list thirty-six Manchu packets and fifty-three Chinese ones, a difference of less than twice as many, this time in favor of Chinese language use.

Unfortunately the Grand Council vault lists for the remaining years of the Ch'ing do not go beyond TC11 (1872) and in some cases do not run even that late. The preceding charts compare the figures for materials in Manchu and Chinese for about a century. The Manchu record books lead numerically through the Tao-kuang reign and stay high, although not as high as the Chinese, for the next twenty years. The Grand Council's palace memorial copies exhibit the reverse situation: from the beginning in the Yung-cheng reign there was a small surplus of Chinese language use over Manchu. Although the volume of Manchu palace memorials always trailed the Chinese, the numbers of Manchu records remained steady through TC11. Thus the Grand Council inventories suggest that the use of Manchu at the Grand Council did not substantially decline during the nineteenth century.

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[6] For the sake of convenience I use the translation "Grand Council" here despite the fact that this term does not correctly describe the late Yung-cheng situation. For several reasons, only one of which is the existence of continuous record series of Grand Council materials beginning in YC8 (1730), I take that year as the Grand Council founding date; see the second chapter of my forthcoming study of the eighteenth century Grand Council. For a different view see Silas Wu, *Communications and Imperial Control in China* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 86ff.

Researchers who hope that the Manchu language archival materials will reveal no more than descriptions of recondite shamanistic practices and unimportant rules of etiquette prescribed for the imperial hunting parties will be doomed to disappointment. I found over fifty different record book titles in the Manchu inventories of the Ch'ien-lung period alone. They suggest a wide variety of concerns and will probably yield documents relevant to many kinds of research interests.

Most of the inventories organize the Manchu record books in four main groups: (1) the so-called "three types," (2) palace memorial copies, (3) Grand Council day books, and (4) specialized topics. The group known as the "three types" (*san-hsiang*) embraces record books of publicly promulgated edicts (*Ming-fa tang*), court letters (*Chi-hsin tang*), and discussion memorials or position papers (*I-fu tang*). Some "three types" inventories have additional titles: record books of military edicts (*Chün-wu shang-yü tang*), military provincial palace memorials (*Chün-wu tsou-che tang*), court discussion memorials on military matters (*Chü-wu i-fu tang*), edicts on ordinary affairs (*Hsun-ch'ang shang-yü tang*), monthly memorials on ordinary matters (*Hsun-ch'ang yueh-che tang*), discussion memorials on ordinary matters (*Hsun-ch'ang i-fu tang*), and discussions on specialized topics (*Tsa-hsiang i-fu tang*).

A separate group consists of the record book of monthly memorials (*Yueh-che tang*). The Grand Council working ledgers consist of office records and day books such as the "matters turned over" (*Chiao-shih tang*), lateral communications (*Hsing-wen tang*), daily records (*Jih-chi tang*), records of interim managers left in the capital (*Liu-ching pan-shih-tang*), and registers of documents dispatched (*Fa-pao tang*).

The inventories known as "specialized topics" are too various to list here, but I shall attempt to supply a general idea of the different types. *Hsing-wei tang* concern imperial hunts and tours in general. *Hsing-wei ho-nan tang* focused on tours south of the river (or at the Nan-yuan, the southern imperial hunting park). Other record books deal with tours to

Sheng-ching, Mu-lan (for the autumn hunts), Mount Wu-t'ai, and the eastern imperial tombs (*Sheng-ching tang*, *Mu-lan tang*, *Wu-t'ai tang*, and *Tung-ling tang*). Many of these pertain to frontier affairs and deal with Russia, Tibet, the Turguts, Khazaks, and Gurkhas. Some have titles that give no clue at all as to their contents. For example, there are two volumes of a Record Book of Secret Notations (*Mi-chi tang*) dated CL51 (1786).[7] Another series is called "horizontal" (*Heturi*, rendered in Chinese as *Ho-t'u-li tang*), referring to lateral communications between officials and offices of approximately equal rank at Sheng-ching and the capital.[8] The "horizontal" communications in this record series include a miscellany of documents never seen by the emperor, on such diverse topics as palace and temple repair at Jehol, disputes over lower government clerks' salaries, court clothing regulations, and temple accouterments. It is worth noting that at present several volumes of the *Ho-t'u-li tang* are kept together with Chinese language materials because some of its content, perhaps in a few cases as much as a third, was written in Chinese.

The Manchu language record books of the nineteenth century are less varied in title and topic. For instance, the Chia-ch'ing ledgers display fewer than twenty titles: there are publicly promulgated edicts (*Ming-fa tang*), discussion memorials (*I-fu tang*), court letters (*Chi-hsin tang*), lateral communications (*Hsing-wen tang*), daily records (*Jih-chi tang*), matters turned over (*Chiao-shih tang*), and dispatch registers (*Fa-pao tang*). In addition fewer than ten albums are topically organized such as one on Russia, three on Sinkiang, one on appointments for relatives of officials (*Ta-yuan tzu-ti tang*), three on banner lieutenant-general appointments (*Tu-t'ung tang*), and a few on imperial tours and hunts. The Tao-kuang and Hsien-feng materials are even slighter, with only seven types of specialized records and a few of the others for each reign. But the number of Manchu language record books produced annually in the nineteenth century remained almost as high as during the Ch'ien-lung reign. The more limited range of titles probably indicates not so much a reduced use of the Manchu language in government work as a reorganization and streamlining of record keeping procedures. This is in line with what else we know about reforms in the communication system at the beginning of the Chia-ch'ing period.

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[7] One of the record series in the Manchu specialized records category appears in the inventories as the record of the first Chin-ch'uan campaign of CL13–14 (1748–49), the *Chin-ch'uan tang*, an archival account long sought by many who assumed, wrongly, that it would be in the Chinese language files.

[8] I wish to thank Mr. Liu Ching-hsien for this information. Similar volumes, of the imperial household, are now held by the Liao-ning Provincial Archives in Shenyang. Professor John Wills has recently informed me that there this record is filed under the Chinese transcription *Hei-t'u tang*.

Even though we cannot be fully informed about these records until they are made available for research, there is one other avenue by which we can ascertain the subjects they cover. This is from two surviving volumes that record file numbers assigned to the Manchu language palace memorial copies in preparation for their deposit in the Grand Council Reference Collection. They belong to a ledger known as the *Tsou-che hao-pu* (sometimes *Yueh-che hao-pu*), which covers the years CL1–19 (1736–54). The two volumes for CL11 and CL14 happen to be in the Chinese section of the Number One Archives. They identify each memorial copy with the name and position of the memorialist and an adequate although brief summary of the contents. The memorials listed in these registers were submitted by Manchus of varying ranks: princes, Grand Councilors and Grand Secretaries, members of the Imperial Household, censors, and Manchu officials stationed all over China, particularly in frontier posts. The topics include frontier affairs, banner matters, Imperial Household concerns, cases involving malfeasance committed by Manchus, imperial tombs, imperial hunts, and the like. Banner finance—investments in pawnshops, loans and the attendant problems of repayment—was also frequently reported.

Thus, without spot-checking the enormous number of Manchu language materials that survive in the Ming-Ch'ing Archives in Beijing (or indeed those held in Taipei), we can nevertheless learn about the substantial range of topics they cover even as their modern curators proceed with the Augean task of sorting them. We can then use this preliminary information as one basis for deciding whether or not to study Manchu. Of course a great many topics were hardly ever reported or discussed in Manchu: the Chinese language examination system, grain tribute, honest yields, local prices and weather, local brigandage, appointments and other personnel matters in the provinces of China Proper are some that come immediately to mind. Still, it has long been known that before the Hsien-feng reign (1851–61), nearly all documents concerning relations with Russia were written in Manchu alone, and it is now apparent that we are faced with many additional useful topics covered in Manchu. The fact that no Chinese language record books appear to have been kept in the first three years of the Grand Council (YC8–10) is especially significant. Even when the Grand Council began to keep records and note its recommendations in Chinese, many of its discussion memorials (*i-fu tsou-che*)—including those based on Chinese language memorials—were nevertheless written in Manchu. Moreover, the Manchu materials possess other previously unsuspected advantages in that they were not raided, weeded, or lost over the years. The result is that a run of Manchu archival records is more likely than the Chinese to be complete.

The reader may well ask why it is that when so many millions of Ch'ing documents have been published or made available in archival depositories, such a large cache of unique Manchu materials has remained so long hidden from view. The answer lies not in willful concealment but in the nature of Ch'ing bureaucratic operations. Western scholars first became acquainted with the Ch'ing documents produced in the open and public routine Grand Secretariat and Six Boards system, by a bureaucracy staffed largely with Chinese-speaking personnel. Both for the sake of the dyarchical principle and because of the linguistic preferences of the large middle-level staffs in the routine system agencies, documents had to be in Chinese; Manchu documents submitted in this system had to be translated. The Grand Council's secret palace memorial system was less well understood within the Ch'ing bureaucracy itself as well as in the modern scholarly world, and the Council's Manchu section, which handled the untranslated Manchu-language palace memorials, has never been described.[9] This essay constitutes a beginning attempt to probe its secrets.

Glossary

Chang Wei	張葳
che-pao	摺包
cheng	正
Chi-hsin tang	寄信檔
Chiao-shih tang	交事檔
Chin-ch'uan tang	金川檔
"Ch'ing-tai Chün-chi ch'u ti tang-an kuan-li chih-tu—kuan-liao t'i-chih ch'uang-hsin chih-i yen-chiu"	清代軍機處的檔案管理制度—官僚体制創新之一研究
chuan-an	專案
Chuang Chi-fa	莊吉發
Chü Te-yuan (Ju De-yuan)	鞠德源
Chün-chi ch'u lu-fu tsou-che	軍機處錄副奏摺

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[9] I first came upon mention of the Grand Council's Manchu section (*Man-pan*) when scanning the archival document register, the Sui-shou teng-chi, in Taipei in the early 1970s. Inquiries at the time produced no one who knew the meaning of the term.

Chün-chi ch'u Man-Han tang-fang	軍機處滿漢檔房
Chün-chi tang-an tsung-ts'e	軍機檔案總冊
Chün-wu i-fu tang	軍務議覆檔
Chün-wu shang-yü tang	軍務上諭檔
Chün-wu tsou-che tang	軍務奏摺檔
Fa-pao tang	發報檔
fu	副
Han and Man Chün-chi	漢滿軍機
Han (or Man) Chün-chi tang-an tsung-ts'e	漢軍機檔案總冊
Han and Man-pan	漢滿伴
Hei-t'u tang	黑圖檔
Ho-t'u-li tang	和圖利檔
Hsing-wei tang	行圍檔
Hsing-wei ho-nan	行圍河南
Hsing-wen tang	行文檔
Hsun-ch'ang i-fu tang	尋常議覆檔
Hsun-ch'ang shang-yü tang	尋常上諭檔
Hsun-ch'ang yueh-che tang	尋常月摺檔
I-fu tang	議覆檔
i-fu tsou-che	議覆奏摺
Jih-chi tang	日記檔
Kuang-hsu erh-nien ch'ing-ch'a tang-an pu-ts'e	光緒二年清查檔案簿冊
Liu Ching-hsien (Liu Jing-xian)	劉景憲
Liu-ching pan-shih tang	留京辦事檔
Man Chün-chi tang-an tsung-mu cheng/fu-pen ping yueh-che	滿軍機檔案總目正副本並月摺
Man-k'u tang-an ts'ao-pen ch'ing-ts'e	滿庫檔案草本清冊
Mi-chi tang	密記檔
Ming-fa tang	明發檔
Mu-lan tang	木蘭檔
Fan Shu-pi	潘淑碧
Pen-chi	本紀
san-hsiang	三項
Sheng-ching tang	盛京檔
Ta-yuan tzu-ti tang	大員子弟檔
tsa-hsiang	雜項
Tsa-hsiang i-fu tang	雜項議覆檔
tsa-hsiang yueh-che pao	雜項月摺包
Tsou-shih ch'u	奏事處
Tsou-che hao-pu	奏摺號簿
Tu-t'ung tang	都統檔
Tung-ling tang	東陵檔
Wu-t'ai tang	五臺檔
Yueh-che hao-pu	月摺號簿
Yueh-che tang	月摺檔

■ Source: Stary, Giovanni, 'An example of the evolution of Manchu historiography', in *Asiatica Ventiana*, 3 (1998), pp. 177–182.

AN EXAMPLE OF THE EVOLUTION OF MANCHU HISTORIOGRAPHY

Giovanni Stary

The publication of the *Jiu Manzhou dang* 舊滿洲檔 and the *Manwen laodang* 滿文老檔 signalled not only a great step forward in our knowledge of early Manchu history, but also highlighted the Qing institutions' system of writing their own history. From the different versions of the *Shilu* 實錄 we already know how historical facts were changed, censured or enlarged in Kangxi and Qianlong times. The analysis of certain episodes recorded in the *Jiu Manzhou dang*, their "re-elaboration" in the *Shilu* and "transformation" in later works such as the *Daicing gurun-i fukjin doro neihe bodogon-i bithe*, better known by its Chinese name *Huang Qing kaiguo fanglüe* 皇清開國方略, give us further evidence of the particular characteristics of official Qing historiography.

As an example, I would like to quote Nurhaci's admonishment against excessive wine-drinking, registered in the *Jiu Manzhou dang* and bearing the date 17th day [of the 8th month of Tianming 10th year], i.e. September 18, 1625.

In the *Jiu Manzhou dang*—i.e. the original source—his admonishment is registered as a simple "speech" (*hendume*). In the *Wuhuangdi shilu* 武皇帝實錄 and the trilingual *Manzhou shilu* 滿洲實錄 it became a "teaching" (lit. "instructive speech") (*tacibume hendume*) issued in *written* form (*bithe arafi wasimbuha*). In the *Daicing gurun-i fukjin doro neihe bodogon-i bithe*, (order dated 1786), it finally became a traditional "Imperial order" (*Hese wasimbuhangge*).

In the *Jiu Manzhou dang* this admonishment is as follows:

> On the seventeenth day the Khan spoke:
> From ancient times, people drinking wine and saying:
> "After I drank, I realized these things,
> I acquired this capability,
> and so I achieved success": such words—
> did [You] ever hear?
> After having drank, people fight against each other,
> people are stabbed and dismembered,
> they kill each other in revenge.

They fall from their horses and break their arms and legs.
They break their necks and die.
They attract bad spirits and die.

At that point in the *Shilu* editions, two sentences are found which are missing in the *Jiu Manzhou dang* (and *Manwen laodang*):

They trink too much wine and die.
Falling down on the street, they lose clothes and hats.

The following sentence in the *Jiu Manzhou dang*, on the other hand, is missing from the *Shilu*:

They get epilepsy (*fancame nimeku*) and dysphagia (*cilime nimeku*).

After that, the texts coincide for several sentences:

They cause harm to father and mother, to elder and younger brothers.
When drunk, they destroy household goods and ruin the family.
[People] are heard saying "he decayed and died",
[Because his] thirst for wine was never quenched.

The following three sentences were deleted from all successive works:

After having made [small cakes called] "toholion", mix them with soup and eat them!
Then, make [a pastry called] "sesi" and eat it!
Fry [dumplings called] "giose" and eat them!

From this point onwards, the texts in both *Jiu Manzhou dang* and *Shilu* versions coincide except for some stylistic variations:

After having prepared all sorts of cakes from millet, you should eat them
For the distillation of wine,
for the preparation of cakes—
for everything millet is [used].
[But] wine will ruin,
[while] cakes will satisfy.
[Why] not eat [the millet] and be satisfied,
[instead of] drinking [millet-made spirits] only to be ruined?
If an incapable man is drinking;
he kills himself;
If a talented good man is drinking,
he destroys his talent
and offends the Khan and the *Beise.*
If a husband drinks, he disgusts his wife;
if a wife is drinking, she offends her husband.
It will be unbearable for the servants and they will run away.
What is the good, then, of drinking wine?

The wise men of old said:
"Strong medicines are bitter in the mouth,
but useful against sickness.
Sweet wines are delicious in the mouth,
but cause sickness.
The words of flatterers
are pleasant to listening ears,
[but] are bad for life's duties.
The words of honest people
are unpleasant to the ear,
[but] are useful for life's duties".
[Therefore] You should stop drinking too much wine!

There is only one strange variant found in the *Manzhou shilu*: instead of "bengsen akū niyalma" (men without capability), we find here "beise akū niyalma" (men without a beise [prince]). This is a nonsense, of course, and I suppose this must be a printing mistake—the corresponding Chinese text, in fact, has 愚者 *yuzhe* ("stupid").

Now if we compare these texts with that of the *Daicing gurun-i fukjin doro neihe bodogon-i bithe*, we see that the *Shilu* texts were overall maintained, with only some minor corrections and additions, but rearranged in a completely new order of single sentences.

We must now find an answer to the question of why the compilers of the *Shilu* did not copy the sentences on the two illnesses provoked by wine-drinking (the *fancame nimeku* and the *cilime nimeku*), and why they "censured" the food suggested by Nurhaci (*toholion, sesi, giose*).

It is well-known that in the successive compilations of the first Manchu khan's *Shilu*, certain passages not in harmony with the rules of filial piety or the governance of the State were changed. For instance, as Professor Fuchs pointed out many years ago, we may remember the "transformation" of Nurhaci's young wife's refusal to follow her dead husband into a "spontaneous suicide", or the "correction" of the sacrifice of a "Chinese figure" into the sacrifice of a "straw-figure" during the transfer of Nurhaci's ancestors' bones to the new Dongling tombs near Liaoyang.[1]

But, in our case, we don't have any obvious reason to explain this deletion of Nurhaci's words. We may only conclude that these words were, for some reason, unsuitable to be placed in the mouth of an Emperor.

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[1] See Walter Fuchs, "Frühmandjurische Fürstengräber bei Liaoyang", *Asia Major*, 10, 1934, pp. 94–122, and "Der Opfertod der Kaiserin Abahai im Jahre 1626", *Monumenta Serica*, 1, 1935–1936, pp. 71–81.

In fact, the names of the two illnesses are difficult to identify, and none of them is found in dictionaries. "Fancame nimeku" could refer—from a linguistic point of view—to "fancakū nimeku", epilepsy. "Cilime nimeku" could be "cilikū nimeku", disphagia, both found in Manchu dictionaries. We may suppose that the names used by Nurhaci were a local, "popular" and not "classical" Manchu usage—and therefore unidentifiable for the later *Shilu* compilers. But why did they substitute this passage with the reference to clothes and hats lost when drunk people fall in the streets? Did they invent this sentence, which is missing in the *Jiu Manzhou dang*, or did they have another, different source? The question is still open.

Likewise open is also the question of why Nurhaci's food suggestions were not enclosed in the *Shilu*, where we find only the general exhortation to eat "all kinds of pastry". "Toholion" (>*toholiyo*: "small fat cakes made in the shape of cash"), and "sesi" ("a curved deep-fried pastry made from millet and bean meal"), are typical Manchu names (and food), while "giose" (>giyose) are the well-known *jiaozi* 餃子, i.e. a loan-word from Chinese. Why were these three kinds of food omitted? Maybe because this simple and primitive "barbarian kitchen-language" was unworthy of an emperor, in the eyes of "cultivated" *Shilu* compilers? Ultimately we don't know the reason for this censure of Nurhaci's teaching.

The result of this brief analysis is to confirm that research on early Manchu history must be based on the *Jiu Manzhou dang*, since the hitherto usual "classical" Manchu and Chinese sources like the *Shilu* (which still maintain their importance for historical research), not uncommonly change the primary sources on which they are based, thus affording a distorted and, in some cases, even false historical account.

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Manzhou shilu (Manchu Veritable Records), trilingual reprint Mukden (*recte*: Tōkyō) 1937, 8th chapter, without pagination.

Daicing gurun-i fukjin doro neihe bodogon-i bithe (Strategical plans concerning the foundation of the Qing empire = *Huang Qing kaiguo fanglüe*), Imperial order 1786, 8th chapter, Palace edition (xylograph), pp. 31a–b.

Texts

Jiu Manzhou dang (Manwen laodang: variants in italics)	Wuhuangdi shilu (Manzhou shilu)	Daicing gurun-i fukjin doro neihe bodogon-i bithe
juwan nadan de. han hendume	juwe nadan de: taizu genggiyen han: geren ambasa. gubci irgen-i arki nure omire jalinde tacibume hendume:	sahahūn meihe inenggi. ambasa irgesei nure omire de amurangge be targabume tacibuha: nure omire de amuran ambasa irgese bisire turgunde. Hese wasimbuhangge:
julgeci ebsi arki nure omiha niyalma	julgeci ebsi arki nure omiha niyalma:	arki nure omiha niyalma
bi omifi tendeke jaka baha:	bi omifi tenteke jaka baha:	omifi tenteke jaka baha:
tere erdemu taciha	tere erdemu taciha.	tere erdemu taciha:
tuttu jabšaha seme gisurerebe	tuttu jabšaha seme gisurere be suwe	tuttu jabšaha seme gisurere be suwe
donjihao:	donjihao:	donjihao.
omifi niyalmai emgi becunuhe:	arki nure omifi niyalmai emgi becunuhe:	bengsen akū niyalma omici
niyalma be hūwesilehe saciha:	niyalma be huwesilehe saciha:	beye bucembi.
karu imbe waha:	karu imbe waha:	erdemu sain niyalma omici.
morin ci tūhefi gala bethe bijaha:	morin ci tuhefi gala bethe bijaha	erdemu efujembi.
meifen mokcofi būcehe:	meifen mokcofi bucehe:	arki nure, sunja hacin-i jeku tebu-hengge bicibe.
ibagan ušafi būcehe:	ibahan ušafi bucehe:	urundere de ebirakū kai.
	arki de dabafi bucehe:	hala halai efen lala de gemu ebimbikai.
	jugūn de tuhefi etuku mahala waliyabuha:	ebire be jeterakū.
fancame nimeku cilime nimeku baha:		arki nure be ainu ejimbi.
ama eme ahon deo de ehe oho:	ama eme ahūn deo de ehe oho:	suihume omihai ehe fusihūn de isinafi.
sūihume tetun agura be efuleme	suihume tetun agūra hūwalame.	jugūn de tuhefi.
boo manabuha	boo be manabuha	etuku mahala waliyabuha.
wasika ufaraha seme gisurehe be donjiha:	wasika ufaraha seme gisurere be bi donjiha:	tetun agūra hūwalame.
arki ūrundere de ebirakū kai:	arki *nure* urundere de ebirakū kai:	boo be manabuha.
		morin ci tuhefi. gala bethe bijaha.
buya toholion (*toholiyo*) efen arafi		meifen mokcofi bucehe.
sile barafi jefu:		ibagan ušafi bucehe.
jai sesi arafi jefu:		niyalmai emgi becunuhe de.
giose (*giyose*) carufi jefu:		niyalma be koro arame huwesilefi
hala halai efen lala dahilabi (*dagilafi*) jecina:	hala halai efen lala «ararangge»* dagilafi jecina:	
		karu imbe waha seme gisurere be bi kemuni donjiha.
arki teburengge:	arki nure teburengge	
ef[en] ararangge	efen lala ararangge	
gemu emu bisihe (*fisihe*) kai:	gemu emu fisihe kai:	
arki de efujembi:	arki nure de efujembi:	
efen de ebimbikai:	efen lala de ebimbikai:	
ebire be jeterakū.	ebire be jeterakū:	
efujere be ainu omimbi:	efujere be ainu omimbi:	

Table (*cont.*)

Jiu Manzhou dang (Manwen laodang: variants in italics)	Wuhuangdi shilu (Manzhou shilu)	Daicing gurun-i fukjin doro neihe bodogon-i bithe
bengsen akū niyalma omici	bengsen** akū niyalma omici	
beye būcembi.	beye bucembi.	
erdemungge sain niyalma omici	erdemungge sain niyalma omici	
erdemu efujembi:	erdemu efujembi:	
		arki nure omifi yamun de
han beise de waka sabumbi:	dergi Han beise de waka sabumbi:	han beise de waka sabumbi.
		boode ama eme ahūn deo ehe ombi.
eigen omici. sargan de eimebumbi:	eigen omici sargan de eimebumbi:	eigen omici. sargan de eimebumbi.
sargan omici eigen de waka sabumbi:	sargan omici. eigen de waka sabumbi:	sargan omici. eigen de waka sabumbi.
booi aha doosarakū (*dosorakū*) ukambi:	booi aha dosorakū ukambi:	booi aha dosorakū ukambi.
arki nūre omirengge ai sain:	arki nure omirengge ai sain:	arki nure omirengge ai sain.
julgei mergesei hendurengge	julgei mergesei henduhengge	julgei mergesei henduhengge.
horonggo okto angga de gosihon gojime	horonggo okto angga de gosihon gojime:	tondo tafulara gisun šan de icakū gojime.
nimeku de tusa:	nimeku de tusa:	banjire doro de tusa.
jancuhon nūre angga de amtangga	jancuhūn nure angga de amtangga	horonggo okto. angga de hosihon gojime.
nimeku be dekdebumbi:	nimeku be dekdebumbi:	nimeku de tusa sehebi.
haldaba huwekiyebure niyalmai gisun	haldaba huwekiyebure niyalmai gisun	
donjire šan de icangga	donjire šan de icingga:	šan de icangga gisun. baita de ehe.
banjire jurgan de ehe:	banjire jurgan de ehe:	
		angga de amtangga.
		nure nimeku be dekdebumbi.
tondo tafulara niyalmai gisun	tondo tafulara gisun	
šan de ici akū (*icakū*):	šan de icikū***:	
banjire jurgan de tusa seme henduhebikai:	banjire doro de tusa sehebi:	
arki nūre be asuru omire be nakacina:	arki nure be asuru omire be nakacina	arki nure be fuhali targa sehe:
	seme bithe arafi wasimbuha:	

* Missing in Manzhou shilu.
** Manzhou shilu: "beise".
*** Manzhou shilu: "ici akū".

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THE MANCHU-LANGUAGE ARCHIVES OF THE QING DYNASTY AND THE ORIGINS OF THE PALACE MEMORIAL SYSTEM

Mark C. Elliott

One of the more noteworthy recent trends in scholarship on late imperial Chinese and Inner Asian history is the growing recognition of the importance of Manchu as a research language. This change owes principally to two developments. One is the opening, beginning in the late 1970s, of the First Historical Archives of China (FHA) to general scholarly use. This liberalization inaugurated an ongoing process of discovery that has enabled historians to gain a first-hand familiarity with the variety and nature of the more than 10,000,000 items on deposit there, most of which are from the Qing period (1636–1912).[1] Fuller information has emerged concerning that portion of the Qing archives not in the Chinese script—meaning primarily, though not exclusively, materials in Manchu—which puts us in a better position to appreciate the significance of these sources. In consequence, opinion has shifted away from the old view that Manchu materials are of little relevance for Qing history after 1644,[2] toward the view that documents written in a language so different from Chinese as Manchu might, in fact, offer valuable new insights into the post-conquest period after all.[3]

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This is the official figure used by the First Historical Archives in its own publications. See, for instance. First Historical Archives, *Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan guancang dang'an gaishu* (Beijing: Dang'an chubanshe, 1985), 3, 27. Note that an "item" (Ch. *jian*) says nothing about the actual size or volume of a document. See Endymion Wilkson, ed., *Chinese History: A Manual*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), 900, n2. Chapter 50 of this manual offers an excellent general introduction to the Chinese-language archives of the Qing; a partial listing of Manchu-language materials is found on pp. 926–29.

[2] This view was advanced by none other than Joseph F. Fletcher (writing in 1973): "Almost all Manchu source material, even from the earliest period, was carried over in one form or another into Chinese. For historians of the middle and late Ch'ing, Manchu records can be useful, but they are not necessary." This from his article, "Manchu Sources,"

The second factor that helps explain the shift in the appreciation of Manchu relates to larger changes in late twentieth century intellectual currents, especially the inclination to question dominant historical narratives (what are sometimes called "hegemonizing discourses") and to rethink the past from the viewpoints of those, such as minorities, women, and outcasts, who have been marginalized historiographically. In part as a result of these trends, and in part because of the social and political landscape of the contemporary world, ethnicity (along with gender, sexuality, and crime) has become an urgent subject of scholarly investigation. For China, this has produced a new literature in search of a fresh understanding of the role of non-Han peoples in Chinese politics and society, a literature, moreover, which has intersected with concurrent rethinking of the development of the ideology of the modern Chinese nation-state, invested as it is with various notions of Han superiority.[4] As China's last imperial masters, the alien Manchus have thus become an obvious focus

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in Donald Leslie, Colin Mackerras, and Wang Gungwu, eds., *Essays on the Sources for Chinese History* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1973), 145.

[3] The first Western scholar to come forward with such a reassessment was Beatrice S. Bartlett. In an important 1985 article. Bartlett first summed up current opinion ("The received wisdom on the Manchu language archives of the Ch'ing dynasty has been that historians of the Ch'ing have little need either to learn Manchu or to use Manchu materials for research on historical subjects. Learning Chinese will suffice, the argument goes, because the Ch'ing dyarchical principle guaranteed that everything written in Manchu was also recorded in Chinese") and then showed that it was wrong: "In contrast with what has hitherto been thought, . . . many unique Manchu documents, never translated into Chinese, were produced in the middle and even the late Ch'ing. Future Ch'ing historians may well find the study of Manchu worthwhile." See "Books of Revelations: The Importance of the Manchu Language Archival Record Books for Research on Ch'ing History," *Late Imperial China* 6.2 (December 1985), 33. Influenced by news of Bartlett's findings, by 1981 Fletcher had changed his mind about the importance of Manchu: "A Ch'ing scholar who wants to do first-class work in the archives must, from now on, learn Manchu and routinely compare the Manchu and Chinese sources for their topics of research" ("Review of Walter Simon and Howard (G.H. Nelson, *Manchu Books in London: A Union Catalogue*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41.2 [December 1981], 653–656). A comprehensive statement of the value of Manchu for research on the Qing is found in Pamela Kyle Crossley and Evelyn S. Rawski, "A Profile of the Manchu Language in Ch'ing History," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 53.1 (June 1993), 63–102.

[4] On ethnicity in China, see, *inter alia*, Frank Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); Stevan Harrell, ed., *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995); Melissa J. Brown, ed., *Negotiating Ethnicities in China and Taiwan* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies. 1996); and Pamela Kyle Crossley, Helen F. Siu, and Donald Sutton, eds., *Empire*

of interest: not only were they minority rulers, but the empire they built—the greatest continental empire since the time of Cinggis—is seen as the predecessor, if not the blueprint, of the vast polyethnic state that China has become today.[5] Learning the Manchu language has thus come to be perceived as a vital tool for getting to know the Manchus and their empire better.

The burgeoning interest in things Manchu is not without precedent. Sinology, in its infancy, was weaned on Manchu. Three hundred years ago the language was seen as a crucial tool for understanding the Chinese classics, many of which had been translated by teams of scholars working at the pleasure of the court in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Jesuit missionaries whose labors laid the foundations of the West's study of China were unanimously of the opinion that the grammatical structures and signifiers of Manchu clarified much that was obscure in the antique Chinese language and that Manchu was more "logical" and easier to learn than Chinese. Moreover, they found a knowledge of Manchu extremely useful in daily life in mid-Qing Beijing.[6] But Manchu's early prominence in the field declined markedly in the nineteenth century, when Protestant missionaries and colonialists took the place of Jesuit polymaths at the forefront of Chinese studies. James Legge, for instance, was of the opinion that Manchu translations, however expert, were biased, as they reflected official post-Song interpretations.[7] That Legge knew no Manchu may have made it easier for him, of course, to espouse this position. Nonetheless, his view carried the day and it has been a century since any translator has bothered to look for help from the Manchu versions of the Four Books, the

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at the Margins: Culture. Ethnicity, and Frontier in Early Modern China (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, forthcoming).

[5] This line of thinking is implicit in much of the work by Chinese scholars, who tend to frame their discussions of the Qing with the same phrase (*tongyi de duominzu guojia*, lit., "unified polyethnic state") that is used for the People's Republic of China. Elaborated in the work of Kataoka Kazutada. *Shinchō Shinkyō tōchi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yuzankaku Press, 1991) and Ishibashi Takao. "Manju ōchōron: Shinchō kokkaron josetsu," in Hamashita Takeshi et al., eds., *Min-Shin jidaishi no kihon mondai* (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1997), the theme is pursued explicitly also in Evelyn S. Rawski, who refers to the Qing as a "multiethnic" and "multicultural" state. See her *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), 2, 200.

[6] Mark C. Elliott, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnicity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 292 and note.

[7] See Legge's reply to criticism that he had not availed himself of existing Manchu translations, contained in the preface to *The Chinese Classics, Vol. III: The Shoo King, or The Book of Historical Documents* (Hong Kong: London Missionary Society, 1865), vii.

Five Classics, or any other Chinese text.[8] The collapse of the Qing dynasty in 1912 further weakened the case for learning Manchu, and by 1930, when Erich Hauer wrote his treatise, "Why the Sinologue Should Study Manchu," he was lamenting the language's slide into almost complete obscurity.[9] In the world of post-war Sinology, very few students of Qing history anywhere, including China (the language had virtually disappeared by then as a living tongue), learned Manchu or were even encouraged to do so. The handful who did, mostly in Japan and Germany, concentrated their research primarily on the pre-conquest period, though there are some notable exceptions (such as Chuang Chi-fa, working in Taiwan).

Given that the current interest of Western scholars in Manchu language and history represents the reemergence of a field whose last heyday was in the eighteenth century, it should not come as a surprise that recent findings confirm what the Jesuits already knew then: that the Manchus were not "Chinese" and that Qing politics and society were ethnically complex.[10] What *is* somewhat surprising is that despite the rise of the "New Manchu History" and a renewed emphasis on the importance of Manchu sources, very few Qing historians in fact employ Manchu materials in their research.[11] The reasons for this are not hard to find. Apart from

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[8] One of the last to do so, Erwin von Zach, admitted that Manchu offered only "unreliable assistance" (though it could sometimes still be helpful) and that therefore "the study of Manchu in its connexion with Chinese should henceforward be considered from a totally different standpoint," arguing instead for the importance of knowing Manchu "for its own sake" as a historical language. Erwin von Zach, "Manchurian Translation of Lao-tzu's Tao-tê-ching," *The China Review* 25 (1900–1901), 158. A recent study reveals, however, that excavation of these Manchu translations can be extremely fruitful in tracing the transmission of texts. See Laura E. Hess, "The Manchu Exegesis of the 'Lunyu,'" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 113.3 (July–September 1993), 402–17.

[9] *Bulletin of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 61 (1930), 156–164.

[10] This is the emphasis of much of the new research on Manchu history. Notable books in this area include Pamela Kyle Crossley's *Orphan Warriors* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990) and *A Translucent Mirror* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999). Edward J.M. Rhoads, *Manchus and Han* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), as well as Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, and Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, already mentioned. In addition, a number of studies published since the late 1980s have called attention to Manchu-Han ethnic tension in the Qing as an unmistakable, if sometimes intangible, element in Qing politics that cannot be overlooked. See, for instance, Beatrice S. Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers* (Berkeley and LosAngeles: University of California Press, 1990), Philip A. Kuhn, *Soulstealers: The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1768* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1990), and James Polachek, *The Inner Opium War* (Cambridge: Harvard Council on East Asian Studies, 1992).

[11] Beatrice Bartlett (in *Monarchs and Ministers*) and Evelyn Rawski (in *The Last Emperors*) make use of a limited number of Manchu materials, as the notes to their work shows. More extensive use is found in Nicola Di Cosmo, "Manchu Shamanic Ceremonies at the Qing Court," in Joseph McDermott, ed., *State and Court Ritual in China* (Cambridge:

habitual neglect and a paucity of opportunities for instruction in Manchu, one basic problem is that, notwithstanding recent progress in this regard, the Manchu archives remain relatively little known. The goal of this essay is thus to introduce the principal archival sources available in the Manchu language that are useful for research in Qing history. I begin by describing the disposition and typology of extant Manchu archives accessible in China today, published as well as unpublished. In the second part of the essay I take up in detail one particularly valuable type of source, the Manchu palace memorials. As a way of demonstrating the sorts of things these documents have to tell us, I review the origins of the palace memorial system, regarded as one of the most important Qing institutional innovations, in the light of Manchu materials that have lately been discovered.

A review such as this one is bound to have its limitations and omissions. My hope in presenting such information is not to be encyclopedic, but to stimulate interest and advance research in Manchu-language sources and the Inner Asian dimension of Qing rule onto which they open a unique window. Much work remains to be done before we can know to what extent Manchu materials will revolutionize our understanding of the Qing period.

Overview of Qing-period Manchu-language Archives

The materials introduced below include mainly archival materials from after the 1644 Qing conquest of China. Excluded are pre-conquest archives such as the *Jiu Manzhou dang* and the *Manwen laodang* (*Manbun rōtō*), which are well described in the literature.[12] While the emphasis is on unpublished materials, I have also listed published facsimiles, transcriptions, and translations (mostly into Chinese) of Manchu archival

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Cambridge University Press, 1999), 352–98, Xiangyun Wang, "The Qing Court's Tibet Connection: Lcang skya Rol pa'I rdo rje and the Qianglong Emperor," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 60.1 (June 2000), 125–163, and in Elliott, *The Manchu Way*.

[12] *Jiu Manzhou dang* (*Tongki fuka akū hergen-i dangse*), in unpointed script, and *Manwen laodang* (*Tongki fuka sindaha hergen-i dangse*), in pointed script. The bibliography on these items is extensive. The best introduction is Kanda Nobuo, "From Man-wen lao-tang to Chiu Man-chou tang." *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko* 38 (1980), 71–94. See also the summary in Crossley and Rawski, "A Profile," 67. To their list of important pre-conquest Manchu materials should be added the documents translated in *Qingchu neiguoshiyuan Manwen dang'an yibian* (see below) and those described in Tatiana A. Pang and Giovanni Stary, *New Light on Manchu Historiography and Literature: The Discovery of Three Documents in Old Manchu Script* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1998).

documents—by which I mean original records compiled or issued by, or at the command of, Qing governmental offices that were not intended for wider circulation. I have therefore chosen to exclude works of a primarily philosophical, literary, religious, didactic, or linguistic nature (whether originally in Manchu or translated from Chinese), along with official chronicles and compendia such as the *Veritable Records* (*Da Qing lichao shilu*), the *Collected Institutes of the Qing* (*Da Qing huidian*), imperial instructions (*shengxun*) and military histories (*fanglue*). I am, of course, fully aware that such materials are of great importance to historians. But as the majority of such works were printed in the Qing, they are not, strictly speaking, archival in nature, and descriptions of them are available elsewhere.[13] I also exclude examination materials and private genealogies, though I include official genealogies compiled under the auspices of the Eight Banners. Finally, I have found it necessary to limit this introduction to materials in the most important Chinese depositories, namely the First Historical Archives in Beijing, the Third Historical Archives in Shenyang, and, in Taipei, the National Palace Museum (NPM) Archives and Academia Sinica. With a few exceptions, archival holdings in other Chinese collections (such as in Dalian, Changchun, and Harbin), and in Japan, Mongolia, Europe, and North America are not considered; they may be located by consulting the individual catalogues of those collections.[14]

Published Materials: Facsimiles and Transcriptions

Relatively little of the Manchu archives has been published. Among such materials, of first importance are those items published in facsimile or transcription, which furnish scholars copies of the original documents, or at least provide the original language. For the post-conquest era, one of the earliest such publications was issued under the auspices of the Manchukuo government (which was also responsible for issuing the first reprint of the entire Qing *Veritable Records*, based on the version kept in the Mukden imperial palace):

Shunzhi nianjian dang (Archives from the Shunzhi years). Xinjing [Changchun]: Manchukuo National Central Library, 1942. 71 documents dating from 1647–1661, from the collection in the Mukden Imperial Household Department, discovered in the Mukden (a.k.a. Shengjing, Fengtian, Shenyang) palace complex in 1925 by Jin Liang. Includes a complete transcription and a running translation into Japanese. A Chinese translation (without the transcription) was published in volume 2 of *Qingshi ziliao* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981).

Of facsimiles of Manchu texts, most voluminous and best known are the Manchu palace memorials published by the National Palace Museum in Taiwan. These include the following:

Gongzhongdang Kangxi chao zouzhe (Secret palace memorials of the Kangxi reign). 9 volumes. Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1975–1977. Volumes 8 and 9 contain Manchu memorials only.

Gongzhongdang Yongzheng chao zouzhe (Secret palace memorials of the Yongzheng reign). 32 volumes. Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1977–1980. Volumes 28–32 contain Manchu memorials only.

Gongzhongdang Qianlong chao zouzhe (Secret palace memorials of the Qianlong reign). 75 volumes. Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1982–1988. Volume 75 contains Manchu memorials only.

More on these materials appears in the section on palace memorials below. Note that the Chinese memorials (not the Manchu) from the first two series were later reprinted together with memorials held in the FHA: Kangxi-era memorials in *Kangxi chao Hanwen zhupi zouzhe huibian*, 8 volumes (Beijing: Dang'an chubanshe, 1984), Yongzheng-era memorials in *Yongzheng chao Hanwen zhupi zouzhe huibian*, 40 vols. (Hangzhou: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1989).

Nian Gengyao zouzhe zhuanji (The memorials of Nian Gengyao). 3 volumes. Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1971. Contains reproductions of the collected memorials of Nian Gengyao (d. 1726), who achieved considerable fame for his military exploits on the western frontier before being put to death by the Yongzheng emperor. Vols. 1 and 2 contain 90 Chinese memorials, 194 Manchu memorials, 9 letters in Manchu, and 40 bilingual edicts. Volume 3 has reproductions of Nian's already-published Chinese memorials. All of the Manchu memorials were translated and published in Ji Yonghai, Li Pansheng, and Xie Zhiyu, trans., *Nian Gengyao Man-Han zouzhe yibian* (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1995).

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[13] The major catalogues of printed Manchu books are Li Teh-ch'i, *Guoli Beiping tushuguan gugong bowuyuan tushuguan Manwen shuji lianhe mulu* (Beiping: Palace Museum, 1933); Nicholas Poppe, Leon Hurvitz, and Hidehiro Okada, *Catalogue of the Manchu-Mongol Section of the Tōyō Bunko* (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1964); Walter Simon and Howard G.H. Nelson, *Manchu Books in London* (London: British Museum, 1977); Jeanne-Marie Puraiymond, *Catalogue du fonds Mandchou* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1979); M.P. Volkova, *Opisanie man 'chzhurskikh ksilografov instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (Moscow: Academy of Sciences, 1988); Huang Runhua and Qu Liusheng, eds., *Quanguo Manwen tushu ziliao lianhe mulu* (Beijing: Shumu chubanshe, 1991); and Matsumura Jun, *A Catalogue of Manchu Materials in the Library of Congress: Xylographs. Manuscripts, Archives* (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1999).

[14] Collections of Manchu books and archives are found in many places. A comprehensive list of catalogues is found in Giovanni Stary, *Manchu Studies: An International Bibliography* (Wiesbaden: Kommissionsverlag Otto Harrassowitz, 1990), vol. 1, 1–15.

Taiwan-based Manjurists Chuang Chi-fa and Ch'en Chieh-hsien have both written extensively about the Manchu archives and have published a number of editions of selected portions of archival materials, most with annotations and translations:

Qingdai Zhun-ga-er shiliao chubian (Preliminary compilation of Qing historical materials on the Dzungars). Chuang Chi-fa, ed. Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1977. In this volume, Chuang brings together a number of memorials and edicts from the 1690s, when the Kangxi emperor led three campaigns against the Dzungar leader, Galdan. The text includes the original Manchu (rewritten in Manchu script and in romanized transcription), together with a running translation and a full translation into Chinese. In addition, Chuang also compares the original documents with the official accounts of the campaign published in the *Veritable Records* and the *Pingding shuomo fanglue*, showing among other things that the date of Galdan's death was altered to coincide with the advance of the emperor's army.

Sun Wencheng zouzhe (The memorials of Sun Wencheng). Chuang Chi-fa, ed. Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1978. Sun, of the Manchu Bordered Yellow Banner and a contemporary of Li Xu and Cao Yin, was supervisor of the imperial manufactory in Hangzhou. Chuang has assembled all of Sun's Manchu-language memorials from the Taipei collection (many of them heavily rescripted by the Kangxi emperor) and translated them into Chinese, with annotations. Sun's Chinese-language memorials are also appended.

Manwen Qing shilu yanjiu (Studies of the Manchu-language version of the Qing *Veritable Records*). Ch'en Chieh-hsien. Taipei: Dahua shuju, 1978.

Manwen Qing benji yanjiu (Studies of the Manchu-language versions of the imperial biographies). Ch'en Chieh-hsien, ed. Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1981. Both this and the preceding study compare the different redactions of the Manchu-language versions of their respective texts. Each also offers a comparison of the Manchu and Chinese versions. Selected excerpts of the Manchu *Veritable Records* and imperial biographies are transcribed and translated into Chinese. Facsimiles of those sections are also provided.

Man-Han Yiyulu jiaozhu (Annotated record of a journey to the Torguts). Chuang Chi-fa, ed. Taipei: Wenshizhe, 1983. A facsimile of the original text written by Tulišen (1667–1740) and published in 1723. Chuang has also included a romanization and a Chinese translation.

Yongzheng chao Man-Han hebi zouzhe jiaozhu (Collated Manchu-Chinese bilingual memorials of the Yongzheng reign). Chuang Chi-fa, ed. and trans. Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1984. Contains 44 bilingual memorials from the first year of the Yongzheng reign (1723). The Manchu is reproduced in facsimile, with a romanized transcription and the original Chinese text printed below. The notes at the end point out many of the differences between the two versions of documents that are ostensibly the same.

The Manchu Palace Memorials. Ch'en Chieh-hsien. Taipei: Linking Publishing, 1987. Presents facsimiles, romanizations, and English translations of fifteen palace memorials from the Kangxi reign. Seven of these are from Sun Wencheng (see above); the rest pertain to the Galdan campaigns and the issue of the heir apparent. Also contains an informative introduction to the value of the Manchu palace memorials. A Chinese-only version was published as *Manzhou dang'an ziliao* (Archival materials in Manchu) (Taipei: Lianjing chuban gongsi, 1988).

Xie Sui "Zhigong tu" Manwen tushuo jiaozhu (Annotated edition of the Manchu annotations on Xie Sui's *Zhigong tu*). Chuang Chi-fa, ed. Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1989. Though not strictly archival in nature, Chuang's reproduction and translation of the Manchu commentary that accompanied this version of the *Zhigong tu* (in 4 *juan*; compiled in 1751 and subsequently added to until 1790) make this rare and valuable resource, with its beautiful color illustrations, available to historians. The introduction offers a number of examples of differences between the Chinese and Manchu annotations, pointing out the comparative ease of understanding the more plainly written Manchu text. The main text provides a facsimile of 301 of the original Manchu legends accompanying the illustrations, plus a romanized transcription as well as the Chinese characters.

Gugong Taiwan shiliao gaishu (General description of Taiwan historical materials). Chuang Chi-fa, gen. ed. Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1995. Contains some memorials of Mamboo (Man-bao), governor of Fujian from 1711–1715 and governor-general of Fujian and Zhejiang from 1715–1725.

Facsimiles of rare Manchu translations of Buddhist texts have for the first time become available recently from the NPM holdings in Taiwan. Though not strictly archival, they nonetheless deserve mention:

Guoli gugong bowuyuan diancang Dazangjing Manwen yiben yanjiu (A study of the Manchu translation of the Tripitaka housed in the National Palace Museum). Chuang Chi-fa, ed. Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1991. In 1772 the Qianlong emperor commissioned the translation of the Buddhist canon into Manchu. Twenty-eight years later the immense project was complete, in an edition totaling 2,466 fascicles in 108 cases (*han*). 76 of these cases are now in the Palace Museum in Beijing, and 32 in the National Palace Museum in Taipei. This volume contains the photographic reproduction of one sutra from the latter collection, together with romanization and a translation into Chinese.

Man-Hanwen Dizang pusa benyuan jing jiaozhu (Redacted and annotated texts of the *Sutra of the Original Vows of the Bodhisattva Ksitigarbha*, in Manchu and Chinese). Pan Shubi, ed. Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1995. Contains the facsimiles of seventeen sutras from case no. 91 of the Manchu translation of the Buddhist canon (see above), along with a running romanization and the Chinese version of the same text, plus a glossary.

An important collection of documents pertaining to the Bordered Red Banner was published by the Seminar on Manchu History of the Tōyō Bunko. Though as they are held in a Japanese collection these publications also fall outside the scope of this list, I include them because of their importance:

Jōkōkitō: Yōseichō (Bordered Red Banner archives, Yongzheng reign). Kanda Nobuo, Matsumura Jun, Okada Hidehiro, and Hosoya Yoshio, eds. Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1972. Contains transcriptions of 54 documents from the Yongzheng reign (14 from 1723–25, 30 from 1732–34) pertaining to miscellaneous issues of Eight Banner administration, including personnel and finance. A complete Japanese translation is appended.

Jōkōkitō: Kenryūchō (Bordered Red Banner archives: Qianlong reign 1). Kanda Nobuo, Matsumura Jun, Okada Hidehiro, and Hosoya Yoshio, eds. Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1983. Contains transcriptions of 126 documents from the first part of the Qianlong reign, covering the years 1738–1764. Like the preceding item, this is a valuable source for information on banner administration in the capital and garrisons, with much detail on succession to company captaincies. Summaries of document subjects precede the main text. There is no Japanese translation.

Jōkōkitō: Kenryūchō (Bordered Red Banner archives: Qianlong reign 2). Kanda Nobuo, Matsumura Jun, Hosoya Yoshio, Ishibashi Takao, Katō Naoto, and Nākami Tatsuo, eds. Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1993. Contains transcriptions of 131 documents from the second part of the Qianlong reign, covering the years 1766–1783. Similar in content and format to the immediately preceding item.

An unauthorized Chinese translation of the first item is found in Liu Housheng trans., *Qing Yongzheng chao xianghongqidang* (Changchun: Dongbei shifan daxue chubanshe, 1985); the authorized translation (first two volumes only) is Guan Jialu trans., *Yong-Qian liangchao xianghongqidang* (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1987). Neither contains the Manchu transcription. A complete index and user's guide to the Bordered Red Banner archives in the Tōyō Bunko is now in preparation, which will also contain the transcriptions of 88 more documents from the last years of the Qianlong reign.

Beginning in the 1980s, portions of the Manchu archives have begun to emerge in published form from mainland collections, greatly increasing historians' awareness of the importance of Manchu materials and facilitating their use. While most of these publications consist solely of translations, a small number include transcriptions of the original text, making them suitable for scholarly use. Among these are:

Suijun xingji yizhu (Manchu title: *Beye-i cooha bade yabuha babe ejehe bithe*) (A record of my military exploits). Ji Yonghai, ed. and trans. Beijing: Zhongyang minzu xueyuan chubanshe, 1987. A first-hand account by Dzengseo, a low-ranking Manchu officer, of his experiences as a soldier in the suppression of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories from 1680–1682. From a manuscript in the library of the Central Minorities University, Beijing. Of the original four *juan*, only the final *juan* is extant. Includes translation, transcription with running translation, and facsimile of the text.

Cing gurun-i dangse ci sonjome banjibuha Sibe-i suduri mutun (The historical development of the Sibe as selected from the Qing archives). 2 volumes. Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1987. This set of 389 documents, covering the period from the late sixteenth through the late nineteenth centuries, relates to the history of the Sibe people, their formation into companies in the Eight Banners, their migration to Xinjiang in the 1760s, and subsequent life on the frontier. Published in parallel 2-volume sets, one in the original Manchu and the other in Chinese translation (see under Published materials: Translations).

Finally, it is worth mentioning the transcription and translation of some nineteenth-century Manchu memorials from Xinjiang:

Reports from the Northwest: A Selection of Manchu Palace Memorials from Kashgar, 1806–1807. Nicola Di Cosmo, ed. and trans. *Papers on Inner Asia* 25. Bloomington: Indiana University Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1993. Presents the transcription, annotated translation, and facsimile of drafts of ten memorials sent in 1806–07 by Qing officials in Kashgar.

In addition to the above, transcriptions of individual Manchu-language documents, inscriptions, etc., may be found in doctoral dissertations and a range of periodical publications, including *Lishi dang'an* (Beijing), *Manxue yanjiu* (Beijing), *Minzu yanjiu* (Beijing), *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* (Beijing), *Manzu yanjiu* (Shenyang), *Gugong wenxian* (Taipei), *Manzokushi kenky_ts_shin* (Tokyo), *Aetas Manjurica* (Wiesbaden), *Zentralasiatische Studien* (Bonn), and *Saksaha* (Portland). Manchu materials have also been translated in the *Qingdai dang'an shiliao congbian* series (14 volumes; 1978–1990), published by the First Historical Archives and the *Qingshi ziliao* series (7 volumes; 1980–1989), published by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. For reasons of space, no attempt is made here to include this bibliography.

Published Materials: Translations

Among the large number of publications from the Manchu archives that have appeared in recent years, most provide only translations into Chinese, with no reproduction or transcription of the original text. While such translations have a certain utility, the absence of the Manchu original in any form significantly limits their value to scholars. Particularly as in most cases no effort is made to render personal names according to their standard graphs, they are not to be relied on for identification of individuals. The list below proceeds in chronological order by date of publication.[15]

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[15] This list omits specialized translations on science, medicine, and natural history, some of which also contain materials translated from Manchu.

Youguan Da-hu-er E-lun-chun yu Suo-lun zu lishi ziliao (Historical materials relating to the Dagur, Oroqen, and Solon peoples). 2 volumes. Neimeng dongbei shaoshu minzu shehui lishi diaocha zu, Neimenggu zizhiqu Da-wo-er lishi yuyan wenxue xuehui, comp. Hohhot (?): 1958; repr. ed. 1985. Contains an unusual assortment of Qing-era documents relevant to the Daghur, Oroqen, and Solon minority nationalities. The origin of these materials is not stated, but close inspection (and the reproduction in vol. 2 of fragments in Manchu script) make it clear that these are translations into Chinese from Manchu.

Guanyu Jiangning zhizao Caojia dang'an shiliao (Cao family archives relating to the Nanjing factories). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975. A collection of 195 documents relating to the different members of the Cao family (Cao Xi, Cao Yin) who were charged with supervision of the imperial manufactory at Nanjing. Approximately 60 of these items are translations from Manchu.

Qingdai Zhong-E guanxi dang'an shiliao xuanbian (Selected compilation of archival materials on Sino-Russian relations in the Qing). Series 1. 2 volumes. First Historical Archives, comp. and trans. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981. Invaluable resource containing translations of 285 Shunzhi-, Kangxi-, and Yongzheng-era documents from the *E-luo-si dang*, part of the Grand Secretariat Manchu archives in Beijing (see below). The majority of these are translations from original Manchu documents, but there are also Chinese translations of the Manchu translations of Russian and Mongolian documents.

Kangxi tongyi Taiwan dang'an shiliao xuanji (Selected archival materials on the unification of Taiwan under the Kangxi emperor). First Historical Archives, comp., and trans. Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1983. Contains 184 documents from 1662–1684, of which 25 (nos. 3–26, 36–37) are translations from Manchu originals in the *Miben dang* archive, in the First Historical Archives (see below). All pertain to the prolonged battle with the Zheng regime for control of Taiwan and the Fujian coast.

Sanxing fudutong yamen Manwen dang'an yibian (Translated compilation of Manchu archives from the Sanxing garrison). Liaoning Provincial Archives, et al., comp. and trans. Shenyang: Liaoshen shushe, 1984. The Liaoning Provincial Archives possesses some 20,000 documents that originated from the Eight Banner garrison at Sanxing, in modern Heilongjiang province. This volume presents 179 documents by subject (e.g., tribute items, gifts to native peoples), dating from between 1743–1906. 118 of these are translations from Manchu documents.

Zheng Chenggong dang'an shiliao xuanji (Selected compilation of historical archives on Zheng Chenggong). Xiamen University Taiwan Research Institute and First Historical Archives, comp. and trans. Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1985. Contains 186 documents from between 1647 and 1662, of which 13 (nos. 174–186) are in Manchu. All deal with Qing efforts to deal with the resistance led by Zheng Chenggong (Koxinga).

Shengjing xingbu yuandang (The original archives of the Shengjing Board of Punishments). People's University Qing History Institute and First Historical Archives, comp. and trans. Beijing: Qunzhong chubanshe, 1985. These translations of 72 documents from 1638 and 1639 called attention to a previously unknown collection of 231 items that originated in the early ministries (Civil Appointments, Revenue, Rites, War, and Punishments), established on the Chinese model by Hong Taiji in 1631. Covering 434 individual cases, these materials are useful for research on the preconquest legal system.

Qingdai Heilongjiang lishi dang'an xuanbian (Selected compilation of historical archives on Heilongjiang in the Qing period). Heilongjiang Academy of Social Sciences Institute of History, comp. Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 1986. 32 of the 442 documents included in this volume, all dating between 1875 and 1881, are translated from Manchu originals. Subjects include population, border defense, gold mining, trade, and taxation.

Zheng Chenggong Manwen dang'an shiliao xuanyi Selected translations from Manchu documents on Zheng Chenggong). Volume 1. Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1987. Translations from Grand Secretariat documents in the First Historical Archives concerning Zheng Chenggong (Koxinga) and the struggle for control over the southeast coast. Unlike the 1985 volume mentioned above, all of these materials are originally in Manchu. Two more volumes were supposed to be published, but have yet to appear.

Manwen Tu-er-hu-te dang'an (Manchu archives on the Torghuts). CASS Ethnology Institute and First Historical Archives (Manchu Section), trans. Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1988. Contains 145 documents from 1771–1775 relating to the famous "return of the Torghuts," the migration of the Torghut Mongols from the Volga to Xinjiang. The sources of these materials are the Manchu-language "Torghut Archive" (*Tu-er-hu-te dang*) and the Manchu monthly record books, both in the First Historical Archives (see below).

Chongde sannian dang (Archives of the third year of Chongde). Ji Yonghai and Liu Jingxian, ed. and trans. Shenyang: Liaoshen shushe, 1988. A translation of the Inner History Office archives for the year 1638 only. See the following item.

Xibozu dang'an shiliao (Historical documents on the Sibe). Wu Yuanfeng and Zhao Zhiqiang, eds. and trans. 2 volumes. Shenyang: Liaoning minzu chubanshe, 1989. This is a Chinese translation of *Cing gurun-i dangse ci sonjome banjibuha Sibe-i suduri mutun* (see above under Published materials: Facsimiles and Transcriptions).

Qingchu neiguoshiyuan Manwen dang'an yibian (Translated compilation of Manchu archives of the early Qing inner historical office). 3 volumes. First Historical Archives, trans. and comp. Beijing: Guangming ribao chubanshe, 1989. These valuable materials, some dating as early as 1627, were used in the compilation of the *Veritable Records* of Qing Taizong (Hong Taiji) and Shizu (the Shunzhi emperor). Discovered in the First Historical Archives in the early 1980s, they were identified as originating in the Inner Historical Office (Ch. *neiguoshiyuan*, Ma. *gurun-i suduri yamun*), founded in 1636, hence their name (the documents themselves are identified only by year and month). The first volume spans the years 1633 to 1643 (no documents have been preserved from 1632 or 1641) and is very similar in content to the chronicles in the *Jiu Manzhoudang and Manwen laodang*. The second and third volumes cover the period 1644–1662, representing 52 of the original 74 *ce*. The translation is by staff of the Manchu Section of the First Historical Archives. Though far from complete, this is a very informative supplemental source for the history of the dynasty's first years in China.

Dalian tushuguan cang Qingdai neige daku sandie Manwen dang'an xuanbian (Selections from the dispersed Manchu archives from the Qing secretariat collection kept in the Dalian Municipal Library). 4 volumes. Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1989–1992. Liaoning CASS Institute of History et al., comp. Contains translations of 730 Manchu and Manchu-Chinese documents pertaining to the administration of the imperial estates (vols. 1 and 2) and the Mukden palace (vols. 3 and 4) from the Shunzhi through the Daoguang eras. These materials were originally part of the Grand Secretariat archives that were purchased by Luo Zhenyu and brought by him from Beijing to Dalian. Vols. 1 and 3 consist mostly of items from the Kangxi reign.

Fuyuan dajiangjun Yun-ti zougao (Draft translations of the memorials of Inti). Wu Fengpei, ed. Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin chuban, 1991. This is a reworking of a previous (and rare) translation of 274 memorials of Inti, fourteenth son of the Kangxi emperor and chief rival of Injen, later the Yongzheng emperor. These documents, all in Manchu, date from 1718–1722 and are presently housed in the Beijing University Library. In the 1930s they were all translated into Chinese, but the job was poorly done. For this reissue the editor attempted to remedy the most glaring deficiencies, but as he neither understood Manchu nor had access to the original documents, the translations here must be used with caution. A partial translation of 27 of these documents appeared in *Qingshi ziliao*, vol. 3 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 159–196.

Jilin gongpin (Tribute items from Jilin). Jilin Provincial Archives et al., comp. Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1992. Contains 368 documents, all dating from after 1820, concerning tribute sent from Jilin to the capital. Forty-four of these are translations from Manchu.

Shengjing neiwufu liangzhuang dang'an huibian (Collected archives from the grain estates of the Shengjing Imperial Household Department). Tong Yonggong and Shen Wei, eds. and trans. 2 volumes. Shenyang: Liaoshen shushe, 1993. Contains over 700 documents pertaining to imperial estates in Shengjing (Mukden) housed in the Liaoning Provincial Archives. The majority of those from before the mid-eighteenth century are translations from Manchu communications to the Mukden branch of the Imperial Household Department.

Zaoqi Zhong-E dongduan bianjie yanjiu (A study of the early eastern Sino-Russian border). Liu Yuantu, ed. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1993). Contains translations of 22 Manchu documents pertaining to the delineation of the Sino-Russian border.

Qingdai xiqian Xinjiang Cha-ha-er Menggu Manwen dang'an yibian (Translated collection of Manchu documents on the westward relocation to Xinjiang of the Caqar Mongols). First Historical Archives and CASS Institute for Research on the Chinese Frontier et al., comp. and trans. Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin, 1994. With the pacification of the Dzungar menace in 1760, the Qianlong emperor took steps to safeguard the far western frontier of the empire, including the dispatch of Eight Banner auxiliary forces to permanent garrisons near Ili. Translated here are 333 documents, plus 129 attachments, relating to the relocation of 2000 Caqar Mongol households to Xinjiang. These are taken primarily from the Grand Council Manchu-language reference collection (see *lufu zouzhe* below). A further 594 relevant documents not translated into Chinese (mostly from the nineteenth century) are listed in the appendix.

Yuan yilai Xizang difang yu zhongyang zhengfu guanxi dang'an shiliao huibian (Collected documents on relations between the Tibetan region and the central government since the Yuan). 7 volumes. Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 1994. Volumes 2 through 5 of this important collection of materials concerning the relations between Tibet and Beijing-based regimes contain hundreds of documents from the Qing period, many of them translated from Manchu originals.

Shengjing Manwen dang'anzhong de lüling ji shaoshu minzu falü (Codes and minority-peoples statutes from the Manchu archives in Mukden). Zhang Ruizhi, Xu Lizhi, eds. Volume 2 of the third series of Liu Hainian and Yang Yifan, eds., *Zhongguo zhenxi falü dianzhi jicheng* (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1994). The first section of this collection, "Shengjing dang'an zhong de lüling," has translations of legal precedents from between 1607 and 1643, all taken from the *Manwen laodang.*

Qingdai Sanxing fudutong yamen Man-Han dang'an xuanbian (Selected compilation of Manchu and Chinese documents from the Qing garrison at Sanxing). Liaoning Provincial Archives, comp. and trans. Shenyang: Liaoning guji chubanshe, 1995. Continues the publication of documents from the Sanxing garrison (see above). The documents—105 from the Qianlong and Jiaqing reigns (mostly in Manchu), together with 332 documents from Daoguang and later (mostly in Chinese)—are grouped under five headings: imperial estates, immigration and colonization, defense, administrative changes, and "Russian incursions."

Kangxi chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi (Complete translation of the Manchu palace memorials of the Kangxi reign). First Historical Archives, comp. Beijing: Shehui kexue chubanshe, 1996. Translations of over 4,900 Manchu-language palace memorials from the Kangxi era. Discussed in the section on palace memorials below.

Yongzheng chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi (Complete translation of the Manchu palace memorials of the Yongzheng reign). 2 volumes. First Historical Archives, comp. Beijing: Huangshan shushe, 1998. Translations of over 5,400 Manchu-language palace memorials from the Yongzheng era. Discussed in the section on palace memorials below.

Unpublished Materials

Manchu Materials in Taiwan. With some 387,000 documents, the National Palace Museum in Taipei holds one of the most important collections of Qing archives in the world. The most significant concentration of Manchu-language documents is the Manchu palace memorials, described later in this article, but there are also other holdings of Manchu materials, mainly from the Grand Council archives. These include monthly memorial packets, *yifu dang*, *shangyu dang*, and scattered items in some topic-specific Grand

Council archives.[16] In addition, the Manchu-language *Diaries of Activity and Repose* (Ch. *qijuzhu*, Ma. *ilire tere be ejere dangse*) form an extremely valuable set of materials. The position of court diarist, charged with recording everything the emperor did and said, was created in 1671. From that year on, diaries exist in draft and final versions, both in Chinese and in Manchu, for most of the Qing. These materials were a basic source for the compilation of the *Veritable Records*, than which they are often fuller and more detailed. One suspects that the content of the Manchu *qijuzhu* is similar to that of its Chinese-language counterpart (of which the portions for the Kangxi and Yongzheng reigns held in the FHA have been published),[17] but a detailed comparison has yet to be made. Not including those from the nineteenth century, the NPM possesses fairly complete runs of the Manchu volumes (twelve per year at first, twenty-four per year after 1722) for 1671–1703, 1711–1713, 1730–1748, 1751–1753, 1755–1757, 1765–1770, 1774–1778, 1781, 1783–1784, 1789–1792, plus thirteen volumes recording the affairs of the Qianlong emperor in retirement (from 1795–1799).[18]

Apart from the NPM, there are also Manchu documents at the Institute of History and Philology at Academia Sinica. These are part of the Institute's Ming-Qing Archives, totaling approximately 310,000 items, which formerly belonged to the Grand Secretariat archives. Routine memorials are the most numerous single type of document, and almost all of these retain a Manchu half; in addition, there are roughly 7,000–10,000 routine memorials in Manchu only.[19] Other Manchu-language documents include edicts, *huangce*, and *zouxiao dang*. Most of the Manchu materials here have yet to be carefully catalogued. It should not be ruled out that many rare and important items may surface when this collection has been more thoroughly organized.

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[16] These materials are described in Chuang Chi-fa, *Gugong dang'an shuyao* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1983), 138, 231, 253, 261, 274–279. See also the description of Grand Council archives below.

[17] *Kangxi chao qijuzhu ce*, First Historical Archives, comp. (3 vols.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984) and *Yongzheng chao qijuzhu ce*, First Historical Archives, comp. (5 vols.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993). In the introduction to the Kangxi set, it is stated that the contents of the Manchu and Chinese versions are "absolutely identical" (*wanquan yizhi*), but in the preface to the Yongzheng set, only that they are "similar" (*xiangtong*).

[18] See Chuang, *Gugong dang'an shuyao*, 299–300, for details on volumes in Chinese and on all holdings of *qijuzhu* from the Jiaqing and later reigns.

[19] Chang We-jen, personal communication, March 2000. On routine memorials, see below.

Manchu Materials in Shenyang. The Liaoning Provincial Archives (LPA), sometimes also known as the Third Historical Archives (the Second Historical Archives, housing records from the Republican period, is in Nanjing), is the largest provincial-level archives in China, with over 1,500,000 holdings. The LPA has about 200,000 items from the Qing period, of which an estimated 10% or so consists of materials in Manchu.[20] The majority of these materials originated in the Mukden (Shengjing) Imperial Household Department. Among them are population registers (Ch. *hukouce*), some of which are in Manchu, and the *Shunzhi nianjian dang* (see above under "Published Materials: Facsimiles and Transcriptions"); archives similar to the latter exist for later reigns through Xianfeng. Until the middle of the Qianlong period, they are all in Manchu only; those for the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century are in both languages, and those for the Daoguang and Xianfeng reigns are in Chinese only.

Also in the LPA holdings are the so-called "lateral files" (Ch. *hei-tu dang*, Ma. *hetu dangse* or *heturi dangse*), copybooks of interdepartmental correspondence between the Mukden Imperial Household Department and other government offices in Mukden and Beijing. These materials, bound in 1,169 *ce*, date from the period between 1661 and 1861; all but the last forty years (212 *ce*) are almost entirely in Manchu. Many copybooks are quite substantial, running to over 100 pages, though there are gaps in certain years. Among the subjects covered by this correspondence are the management of imperial estates, household registration, finance, granaries, legal disputes, and products sent to the court in Beijing.[21] The breakdown by reign and type of document (*jinglai* is correspondence from the Beijing Imperial Household Department; *jingxing* is correspondence to the Beijing Imperial Household Department; *bulai* is correspondence from other local bureaux in Mukden; *buxing* is correspondence to other Mukden bureaux) is shown in Table 1.

Another substantial archive left by the Mukden Imperial Household Department is the Drafts Archive (*gaodang*), consisting of original documents (as opposed to copybooks) from 1750 to the early Republican period. There is a fine catalogue (9 volumes, approx. 350 pp. per volume), divided by reign and by the nature of the communication, with a content summary of each item. The majority, though not all, of these documents are in Manchu. There are also Manchu materials in some of the LPA's other main Qing collections: the Mukden Board of Rites archives (*Shengjing libu dang*), the Mukden Garrison General archives (*Shengjing jiangjun yamen dang*), the Sanxing Garrison Archives (*Sanxing fudutong yamen dang*; see above), and the Shuangchengpu archives (*Shuangchengpu dang*), the latter a collection of 2,300 *ce* of materials (from 1850–1923) on the Eight Banner agricultural colony at Shuangchengpu in Heilongjiang.[22]

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[20] Zhao Yunpeng, personal communication, September 1990.

[21] These materials are discussed in more detail in Bartlett, "Books of Revelations." Translations of 79 documents from 1665–1671 appeared in *Qingshi ziliao*, vol. 5 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984).

Manchu Materials in Beijing. By far the most important collection of Manchu archives to be found anywhere is that in the First Historical Archives in Beijing. While it is impossible to speak of a precise number of documents, the usual figure cited is that one-fifth of the FHA's total holdings, or about 2,000,000 items, consists of materials wholly or partly in Manchu.[23] The majority of these materials date from before 1800, but there are tens of thousands of documents in Manchu from the nineteenth and even the early twentieth century. Manchu materials in the FHA are mostly found in one of six central record groups (*quanzong*): Grand Secretariat, Grand Council, Eight Banner Command, Imperial Palace, Imperial Household Department, and Imperial Clan Court. The first four of these are each discussed in turn below. Discussion of the last two is saved for a future occasion.[24]

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[22] Details on these and the rest of the holdings in the LPA may be found in *Liaoning sheng dang'anguan zhinan* (Beijing: Zhongguo dang'anguan chubanshe, 1994).

[23] These were the figures quoted to me in 1990 by the staff of the Manchu Section of the FHA (this includes Manchu-language *tiben*). They appeared in print in a 1994 article by the chief of the Manchu Section. See Wu Yuanfeng, "Qingdai neige Manwen dang'an shulue," *Manxue yanjiu* 2 (1994), 274. This number must still be regarded as a guess. In a 1994 essay, archivist Guan Xiaolian wrote that there are 3,000,000 Manchu-language items in the FHA, approximately one-half of which are not "duplicated" (*chongfu*) *by* Chinese-language documents ("Qing Kangxi chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe chuyi," *Lishi dang'an* 1994.1, 84). In the "Afterword" to the 1996 *Kangxi chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi*, archivist Wang Xi claimed that there are over 1,600,000 Manchu archives in the FHA, accounting for "one-sixth of the archives' total holdings" (p. 1725), while the foreword to the 1998 *Yongzheng chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi* returns again to the earlier figure of 2,000,000 (p. 2), noting in addition that the FHA holdings represent 80% of all extant Manchu archives. Wang's estimate corresponds to the figure cited in Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual* (rev. ed.), 926.

[24] Of Imperial Household Department (Ch. *neiwufu*, Ma. *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun*) archives, I have examined only a few items from the *zouxiao dang*. Evelyn Rawski makes use of some items from this group in her book, *The Last Emperors*. Some sense of the different types of documents contained in the Imperial Household Department archives can be gained by perusing the catalogues created to accompany microfilm made for the Utah Genealogical Society by the FHA in 1984. In addition to extensive holdings on personnel matters in the Imperial Household, the Eight Banners, and the Imperial Clan

Table 1. The Mukden "Lateral Files" Archives: Distribution by reign and document type

Reign	京來	京行	部來	部行	存査	Total *ce* by reign
Kangxi	46	58	45	63	3	215
Yongzheng	11	13	40	27	0	91
Qianlong	49	51	169	165	5	439
Jiaqing	20	25	92	65	10	212
Daoguang	19	15	57	42	19	152
Xianfeng	7	6	26	16	5	60
Total *ce* by type	152	168	429	378	42	1169

Source: *Hei-tu dang* catalogue, LPA.

Grand Secretariat Archives. The earliest Manchu-language documents in the FHA belong to this record group. The Grand Secretariat (Ch. *neige*, Ma. *dorgi yamun*), an institution inherited from the Ming, occupied a position of steadily decreasing importance under the Qing dynasty, but it handled most regular communications between officials and the throne throughout the period, so its archives are the most abundant. Several different types of valuable documents are preserved in this group, including routine memorials, *shishu*, *piaoqian dang*, *silunbu*, and *huangce*. Other Manchu-language holdings include the *Mishuyuan dang*, *miben dang*, *Qingzhe dang*, *shangyu dang*, and *Baqi shixipu dang*, as well as the mostly pre-conquest *Manwen laodang* and *Neiguoshiyuan dang*.[25]

Routine memorials, or *tiben* (Ma. *ben*), are the most numerous of any type of document in the FHA, numbering upwards of one million. They are reports on every sort of civil and criminal matter from all over the empire, a treasure house of information for the historian. When submitting a routine memorial, Qing officials were required to quote in full all preceding communication on the same item of business. As a result, *tiben* are often of extraordinary length, frequently 3–5 cm in thickness, and often highly redundant. Luckily for historians, memorials were summarized before presentation to the emperor, and a summary, called a *tiehuang* (Ma. *tukiyehe sosohon*), is usually found glued or copied at the end of every *tiben*. However, the *tiehuang* does not include the final decision

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Court, there also appear to be substantial collections of household registers, genealogies, and "sacrifice registers" (Ch. *jice*), many of which are in Manchu.

[25] A comprehensive list of the Manchu materials in the Grand Secretariat archives may be found in Wu, "Qingdai neige Manwen dang'an shulue."

on a given matter, which is usually written in neat script in red ink on the front of the memorial. In the not uncommon case that the cover, *tiehuang*, or first few pages of *tiben* are damaged or lacking, it is worth recalling that *tiben* were in principle bilingual (Ch. *hebi*) and thus possess, in effect, two fronts, one in Chinese (read from right to left) and one in Manchu (read from left to right). Reference to the extant Manchu half of a routine memorial can supply information that was written in the missing Chinese half, as well as help to clarify the meaning of obscure Chinese passages.

Though *tiben* are the most numerous of any document type, only three thousand remain from the first three reign periods, catalogued in two groups. One group, *Qiansanchao tiben*, (cat. no. 13/2-11–1, 2-11–2) contains over one thousand items from the Shunzhi, Kangxi, and Yongzheng reigns, classified according to subject matter; another 1,782 items, classified by reign and board office, are catalogued separately as *Neige tiben* (cat. no. 580/2–206). This dearth of routine memorials is a problem for research in the early Qing. Luckily, other types of bilingual archives, like the *shishu*, offer some help. The *shishu* consist of copies of *tiben* written on inferior quality paper of varying dimensions, bound together in monthly volumes. On the first page for a given day is a note on the date and the number of entries for that day; however, this note does not always appear and, as explained below, is often unreliable. Beginning in 1653, there are *shishu* for each office (Ch. *ke*, Ma. *k'o* or *kunggeri*) of the Six Boards (Ch. *liubu*, Ma. *ninggun jurgan*) (in Manchu, the *shishu* are called simply the "files [*dangse*] of such-and-such year for such-and-such office"). Apart from date and office, there is no further subdivision of materials in the *shishu*. This can be either an advantage or a disadvantage, depending on one's research goals. It appears that in the beginning *tiben* were copied in their entirety for inclusion in the *shishu*, which makes them a very noteworthy substitute for nonexistent *tiben*; by the Qianlong reign, however, entries grow significantly shorter, often amounting to just a brief summary of the original.

It is very fortunate that the *shishu* from the first three Qing reigns are quite numerous. Yet scholars wishing to consult the *shishu* still face a few difficulties. One is that, like so many other types of materials, many *shishu* are missing or are in very poor condition and may not be available for consultation. A second is that their use is extremely time-consuming. While entries are systematic, there are no summaries, and even though the script is usually quite legible, to find items relevant to a specific research topic (unless it is tightly limited chronologically) requires great patience. Beyond this, careful inspection of the Chinese and Manchu sections of the *shishu* reveals a third problem. At the end of certain Manchu memorials is written the memorandum, *ere ben de Nikan bithe akū* ("No Chinese for this memorial"). Thus a certain portion of entries exists solely in Manchu, and one is bound to miss something if one relies only on the Chinese. The percentage of Manchu-only entries varies with each volume. Moreover, not all Manchu-only entries are so annotated, necessitating an entry-by-entry comparison for content. Such a comparison on six separate volumes of the *shishu* (for the offices of the Boards of War and Punishments) for 1653 revealed an average 17% more memorials in Manchu than in Chinese (most of these Manchu-only entries deal with military and frontier affairs).[26] Further use of these materials is needed before we will know more about their value and peculiar features.[27]

Compilation of the *shishu* was one part of the complex process by which memorials from local and capital officials were handled by the central government and became part of the official record.[28] Another step in the process was the drafting of rescripts, the means by which the staff of the Grand Secretariat recommended responses to the emperor. These recommendations, known as *piaoqian* (Ma. *dahabure afahari*), were written on separate slips of paper that were forwarded together with the memorial to the throne. *Piaoqian* are presently found in two separate places. One, the *Man[wen] piaoqian dang* (cat. no. 580/2-206) contains 16,250 such slips, beginning in the Shunzhi reign. Each slip is the size of one fold of a memorial; the recommendation is written in Manchu on the left and in Chinese on the right. On the back of some (not all) *piaoqian* slips are written the names of the recommending officials. Very occasionally a *piaoqian* is only in Manchu, and sometimes one comes across changes made by the emperor to the original recommendation (these are usually in Chinese). The greatest drawback to their use is that these slips, which are now separated from the memorials they accompanied, have only the month and day noted on them, and not the year. At present there is no easy means of cross-referencing them to other materials. The other collection of *piaoqian* has been bound into 102 *ce* dating from 1645–1652 (cat. no. 200/2-107). These are more detailed than the slips in the preceding catalogue, being comparable in detail to the *shishu* (like them, there is at least one volume per month) and would serve as an excellent source for research on the first years of the Qing.

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[26] For more details, and sample statistics for one volume of the *bingke shishu*, see my article, "Chūgoku dai'ichi rekishi tōankan shozō naikaku kyūchū Manbun tōan gaijutsu," trans. Yanagisawa Akira, *Tōhōgaku* 85 (1993), 151–152.

[27] A step in this direction is Kusunoki Yoshimichi, "Rika shisho chū no Rihan'in daihon," *Manzokushi kenkyū tsū shin* 5 (1995), 33–42, and Amari Hiroki, "Heika shisho chū no heibu shōsho Gadafun nado no daihon ni tsuite," *Manzokushi kenkyū tsū shin* 8 (1999), 10–25. Kusunoki notes that the *shishu* can substitute for missing Lifanyuan documents; Amari has found that in some cases where the original memorial was in Chinese, the Manchu entry represents only a summary. Note that there are a substantial number of *shishu* as well in the National Palace Museum archives. See Chuang, *Gugong dang'an shuyao*, 314–316.

[28] Regular memorials from local officials arrived at the Transmission Office (Ch. *tongzheng si*) and so were known officially as *tongben*; memorials from officials in the capital were called *buben* ("board memorials"). After translation, the memorials were sent first to the Grand Secretariat, which prepared draft responses for the emperor's convenience (these also had to be translated). They were then presented to the emperor for a decision.

Once rescripted, memorials were recorded in another type of record book in the Grand Secretariat before being sent on. These books, called *silunbu* (Ma. *ba de pilehe hese [be ejehe] dangse*, "records of rescripted edicts"), exist in separate Chinese (cat. no. 39/2-37) and Manchu (cat. no. 51/2-49) versions, bound in yellow paper, one per month (later more frequently), and, like the *shishu*, are divided according to board office.[29] Generally they are in good condition. Entries are very short, usually only one or two lines listing the memorialist, the decision, and the type of matter. For the early Qing, Manchu volumes decidedly outnumber those in Chinese (for the Shunzhi reign, 5 volumes remain in each language; for Kangxi, 82 Manchu and 69 Chinese; for Yongzheng, 131 Manchu and 25 Chinese). For volumes of the same month, contents appear to be identical; there is not the same phenomenon of Manchu only entries as in the *shishu.* While useful for making summaries of types of cases handled, the *silunbu* are probably mostly limited to serving as finding aids, and even at that are probably not as easy to use as the *tiben* catalogues prepared by the FHA.

Another important type of Manchu-language record preserved in the Grand Secretariat archives are finance reports, called "yellow registers" (Ch. *huangce*, Ma. *suwayan-i dangse*), for their yellow silk covers, of which at least 2,000 remain in Manchu from 1645–1903 (cat. no. 184/2-106-1, 2-106-2).[30] Originating from the Six Boards, the Imperial Clan Court (Ch. *zongrenfu*, Ma. *uksun be kadalara yamun*), Court of Colonial Dependencies (Ch. *lifanyuan*, Ma. *tulergi golo be dasara jurgan*), the Guanglu si and Taichang si, these reports contain remarkably detailed monthly accounts of income, expenses, salary payments, taxes, debt service, and a range of related fiscal matters covering all branches of the central and provincial bureaucracy. Further research may show how these materials complement the Chinese-language *huangce.*

In addition to those just described, there are a number of smaller, discrete concentrations of Manchu-language materials in the Grand Secretariat archives. The *Mishuyuan dang* and *miben dang* (cat. no. 200/2-107), both copybooks from the Shunzhi and Kangxi reigns, were originally composed in the Inner Chancellery (Ch. *neimishuyuan*, Ma. *narhūn bithei yamun*), established by Hong Taiji at the same time as the Inner Historical Office. The *Mishuyuan dang*, in 78 *ce*, covers the period 1644 through 1688 (roughly one volume per month) and consists mostly of imperial proclamations, sacrificial texts, and bestowals of titles. The 153 *ce* of the *miben dang*, covering the years 1653 to 1680, consist mainly of translated *tiben* from officials in south China (the Chinese originals are now lost). There is much valuable material here on the early years of the Qing conquest, particularly the suppression of rebellion and the court's relations with the Zheng family, some of which has been translated and published (see above). There is also a substantial amount on Jesuit relations, including the case of Adam Schall von Bell. The *Menggutang dang* (cat. no. 200/2-107) and *E-luo-si dang* also date from the early years of the dynasty, beginning in the 1650s, but extend later, to the 1780s. The "Mongolian chancellery" (Ch. *Menggutang*, Ma. *Monggo bithei ba*) was an office within the Grand Secretariat responsible for handling communications in different languages (Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, Russian) with the various non-Han peoples with whom the empire had regular contact.[31] Cataloguing of the Menggutang archives is still in the beginning stages,[32] making it impossible to say for certain how many items it contains, but the number is not fewer than 133 *jian*, some of which are hundreds of pages long. The majority of documents dates from the Kangxi era and includes communications with the Dalai Lama and other Buddhist prelates, Mongol nobles, Galdan,

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[29] The Chinese volumes are divided differently, with entries from different boards all in one volume, divided up daily. Beatrice S. Bartlett, personal communication, March 2000.

[30] The catalogues I examined listed a total of 1,945 *ce*. However, Wu claims a figure of 3,500 Manchu *huangce* (Wu, "Qingdai neige Manwen dang'an shulue," 278). I am at present unable to reconcile this difference.

[31] This summary relies on Shibuya Kōichi, "Chūgoku dai'ichi rekishi tōankan shozō 'Mōkōdōtō' oyobi 'Manbun sōshoku' ni tsuite," *Manzokushi kenkyū tsūshin* 8 (1999), 21–31; see also Wu, "Qingdai neige Manwen dang'an shulue," 280. As Shibuya makes clear, the *Eluosi dang* consists of documents originally in the Menggutang relating to Russia that were later separated into a separate file. These were published in 1981 (see above).

[32] There are two catalogues, one for the Menggutang itself, and one labeled *Manwen zouchi*, which, as its contents demonstrate, also holds materials from the Menggutang. The *Manwen zouchi* documents are bound into five volumes totaling approximately 450 pages.

Ts'ewang Rabtan, and others. There are also Manchu translations of the Liao and Yuan histories as well as the testaments of the Kangxi and Yongzheng emperors. Yet another deposit of Manchu-language materials is the *Lichao baqi zadang*, part of a little-known file called the *Qingwen zadang*, catalogued together with miscellaneous Grand Secretariat records.[33] In the *Lichao baqi zadang* are 349 documents, including a number of Eight Banner genealogies and various materials on succession to the position of company captain (Ch. *zuoling*, Ma. *nirui janggin*), which appear to have been retained after the writing of the first edition of the *Complete History of the Eight Banners* (Ch. *Baqi tongzhi chuji*, Ma. *jakūn gūsa sucungga tungjy-i bithe*), which was the occasion for their submission.

Last among the Grand Secretariat archives described here are the *qingzhe dang*, the *shangyu dang* (cat. 200/2-107), and the *Baqi shixipu dang* (cat. no. 38/2-36). The first covers the entire Qianlong reign (1736–1795) and the beginning of the Jiaqing reign (1796–1804). These files consist of palace memorials (Ch. *zouzhe*, Ma. *jedz*, *bukdari*) originally sent by capital officials to the Grand Council, which then furnished copies to the Grand Secretariat. Compiled seasonally until 1795 and monthly thereafter, of a purported 348 volumes, 102 are extant.[34] Content is apparently similar to the *lufu zouzhe* and the *yuezhe dang* (see below). The second set of documents, the *shangyu dang*, is an incomplete set of registers of imperial edicts from between 1723 and 1803, reference copies made for retention in the Grand Secretariat.[35] Third, the *Baqi shixipu dang* ("Eight Banner genealogy files"), contains several hundred court-commissioned genealogies and charts of captaincy succession from the Yongzheng through Guangxu reigns, with the preponderance from the nineteenth century.[36] Similar materials are also found in the Eight Banner Command archives, described below, and in the Imperial Household Department archives.

Grand Council Archives. The Grand Council (Ch. *junjichu*, Ma. *coohai nashūn-i ba*), considered one of the most important institutional innovations under the Qing, arose in the 1720s to provide a more efficient and, at least at first, more confidential means of conducting the business of the empire, especially its military affairs.[37] By the 1730s it had become the premier decision-making body in the entire government. The archives of the Grand Council, which are extensive and extremely varied, are thus of tremendous historical value. In Manchu, the most important collections are the cumulative *yuezhe bao* ("monthly memorial packets") and *yuezhe dang* ("monthly memorial record books"), but there is also a large number of topic-specific record books as well, many of which are of research interest.

The *yuezhe bao* and *yuezhe dang* (cat. no. 206/3-49) represent the systematically recorded copies of virtually all the correspondence that passed through the Grand Council between 1730 and 1911. Compilation occurred at first on a seasonal basis, but quickly moved to a monthly (later semi-monthly) basis, with internal organization proceeding in a strict chronological, day-by-day order. Until 1761, contents were divided into two categories, military (Ch. *junwu*) and routine (Ch. *xunchang*), the former accounting for the lion's share, perhaps as much as 80%. This division was abandoned in the 1760s after the final quelling of the Dzungar revolt.[38] The Manchu name of these archives, *wesimbuhe bukdari-i dangse* ("record of submitted palace memorials"), is a bit misleading since not only memorials, but all accompanying materials, as well as rescripts (and dates of rescripts), were also copied into the files. In this regard, as Bartlett has pointed out, the *yuezhe bao* and *yuezhe dang* are an even more valuable resource than the palace memorials, which are now separated from their supplementary documents. The Chinese version of the *yuezhe bao* is commonly known as the *lufu zouzhe* ("Grand Council reference collection"), though the preponderance of the Manchu *yuezhe bao* consists, of course, of *lufu zouzhe*, too. Thus the *yuezhe bao* are sometimes referred to as the Manchu *lufu zouzhe.*

The Chinese *lufu zouzhe* archive differs from the Manchu *yuezhe bao* in two essential ways. First, the content of these two archives is entirely separate. Unlike *tiben*, palace memorials were not translated during transmission to the emperor. Each item is therefore unique: there is no duplication, that is, no Manchu version and Chinese version of the same report, save for the occasional bilingual memorial. Matters relating to the conduct of military campaigns, frontier policy in the north and west, and the Eight Banners were almost always reported on *only* in Manchu, although other matters, especially if the memorializing official happened to be a bannerman, might also be in Manchu. By definition, then, these memorials are not found among the Chinese *lufu zouzhe*.[39] In their present organization as well, the *lufu zouzhe* are fundamentally different from the Manchu *yuezhe bao*. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Chinese *lufu zouzhe* were removed from their original monthly packets and reorganized according to the so-called "eighteen big topics" (*shiba da lei*) so well known to anyone who has used the FHA. With the exception of materials between 1730 and 1755, which were also reorganized by topic, however, the Manchu *yuezhe bao* were left alone; they have now been catalogued in a way that respects the original chronological nature of the archive. Moreover, the materials in the Manchu *yuezhe dang*—in effect, a supplementary copy of the entire *yuezhe bao* made in the form of a record book—are entirely undisturbed (the Chinese-language *yuezhe dang* is much less complete).

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[33] I rely here on Sugiyama Kiyohiko. "Chūgoku dai'ichi rekishi tōankanzō 'Rekichō hakki zatsutō' kanshō," *Marzokushi kenkyū tsūshin* 8 (1999), 47–59.

[34] The catalogue notes 111 *ce*. I have used the figure in Wu, "Qingdai neige Manwen dang'an shulue," 279, upon which this summary relies.

[35] Missing are QL3–10, 14, 17–20, 26–27, 29, 32, 36, 39, 41, 50–60. JQ 1 and 3. See Qu Liusheng, "Qingdai junjichu Manwen dang'an zongshu," *Lishi dang'an* 1989.1, 128. The Chinese *shangyu dang* for the Qianlong reign have been published in 18 vols. by the FHA as *Qianlong chao shangyu dang* (Beijing: Dang'an chubanshe, 1991).

[36] The catalogue says 445 items; Wu says 763.

[37] The definitive work on the origins of the Grand Council is Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers*, where additional detailed information on the various types of Qing documents may be found.

[38] Qu, "Qingdai junjichu Manwen dang'an zongshu," 125; Wu Yuanfeng, "Junjichu Manwen yuezhe bao ji qi zhengli bianmu," *Qingshi yanjiu* 1991.1, 61.

Hence the Manchu *yuezhe bao* and *yuezhe dang* are both vast. Estimates are that there are 180,000–200,000 items in the former (almost one-fourth of all *lufu zouzhe*), and some 2,400 *ce* in the latter.[40] Both have been microfilmed in their entirety. Cataloguing of the former, as mentioned, began in the 1950s, but the catalogue of the *yuezhe dang* is purely a chronological list. Happily, an extremely useful finding aid to the *yuezhe bao* (and, by extension, the *yuezhe dang*) has recently been published. This is the twelve-volume *Catalogue of Manchu Archives on the Qing Frontier*, which references thousands of individual entries in the *yuezhe bao* pertaining to a wide range of subjects in connection with the frontier regions (interpreted to include not just the north and west, but also the southwest and the coastal provinces).[41] Entries are divided by region and are then arranged chronologically. Each entry shows the date of the item, a brief extract giving the name and position of the memorialist and the subject of the communication (plus any supplementary documents), followed by two code numbers: the first corresponds to the document itself and the second to the location of the microfilmed item by reel and frame. The appearance of this fine catalogue should do much to spur interest in and use of the Manchu archives.

There are four other substantial cumulative archives in the Manchu Grand Council collection, all of which are listed in the *junjichu Manwen dangbu mulu* (cat. no. 193/3-47-2 and 3-47-3). One is the *shangyu dang* ("record of imperial edicts"), which, at over 600 *ce*, contains an incomplete run from 1732 through 1910. The second is the *yifu dang* ("record of deliberations"), in 730 *ce*, which contains copies of deliberations on items of Grand Council business between 1730 and 1910. These were compiled on a quarterly basis. The third is the *jixin dang* ("record book of court letters"), in 200-odd volumes. These are copies of edicts sent by Grand Councillors to provincial officials between 1761 and 1881 (about one-fifth of these date from the Qianlong reign). The fourth and last is the *riji dang* ("chronological record," Ma. *ibebuhe ben be ejehe dangse*, "record of presented routine memorials"), in 406 *ce*, which runs from 1755 to 1908 (there are two earlier *ce* in the Imperial Palace record group; see under *Manwen zadang* below). This is a handlist (in Manchu only, with occasional Chinese characters) similar to the *suishou dengji* recording the dispensation of items of business on a given day at court. Entries are brief ("Edict to so-and-so regarding such-and-such") and proceed chronologically. It seems that only business being handled in Manchu was recorded here. Notations are made as to whether something is to be copied (i.e., into the *lufu zouzhe*), and where the emperor was that day (e.g., Rehe).

The above account for some 70% of Grand Council Manchu-language archives.[42] In addition, there are a large number of topic-specific archives (also in the same catalogue as the immediately preceding). These are summarized in Table 2, grouped by general subject of relevance.[43]

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[39] For this reason, apart from the relatively small number of Manchu-Chinese *hebi* memorials, there can be no "comparison of Manchu-language palace memorials with their Chinese counterparts," as has been suggested (Crossley and Rawski, "A Profile," 70).

[40] Qu says 180,000 ("Qingdai junjichu Manwen dang'an zongshu," 126); the foreword to *Yongzheng chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi* says "almost 200,000" (2). Citing statistics compiled in 1930, Qu notes that a total 800,000 *lufu zouzhe* are extant.

[41] *Qingdai bianjiang Manwen dang'an mulu*, First Historical Archives, People's University Qing History Institute, and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Chinese Frontier Research Center, comp. (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 1999). Vol. 1 contains materials for Mukden; Vol. 2 for Jilin and Heilongjiang; Vol. 3 for Inner Mongolia; Vols. 4–5 for Uriyasutai; Vols. 6–11 for Xinjiang; Vol. 12 for Tibet, Zhili, Shandong, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Guangdong, Guangxi, Yunnan, Fujian, and Taiwan. Another important new catalogue is *Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan suocun Xizang he Zangshi dang'an mulu: Man. Zang wen bufen* (Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe, 1999). Dedicated to sources pertinent to Tibet and Tibetan affairs during the Qing, this catalogue covers not only the Manchu *lufu zouzhe*, but many other types of documents as well. There is an index.

[42] Qu, "Qingdai junjichu Manwen dang'an zongshu," 126.

[43] I have somewhat modified the categorization adopted by Qu Liusheng in his description of these materials. This grouping reflects neither their organization in the Qing or in the FHA catalogues. Another useful description of some of these materials is Wu Yuanfeng and Zhao Zhiqiang, "Manwen dang'an yu Qingdai minzushi yanjiu," in *Ming-Qing dang'an yu lishi yanjiu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 441–449.

Eight Banner Command Archives. The office of the Eight Banner Command (Ch. *baqi dutong yamen*, Ma. *jakūn gūsai yamun)* was established by the Yongzheng emperor in 1723 (no central administrative system for the Eight Banners existed prior to this). The documents left by this office therefore date from after the early 1700s, and most come from the 1800s. The majority of items is in Manchu, but the proportion of Chinese-language documents increases over time. Archivists have gathered these materials into 856 bundles and separated them into fourteen different categories (see Table 3) in one catalogue (cat. no. 544/23-2). There is no official estimate as to their number; my conservative guess is that there are not fewer than 20,000 individual documents here. Brief descriptions of the most important concentrations of documents follow below.

Table 2. Topic-specific archives in the Grand Council Manchu-language collection

Item	Date	No. of *ce*	Remarks	Subject
Personnel				
1. 引見檔	1809–1908	23		imperial audiences
2. 應放副都統各項人員檔	1812–1889	30		appointments
3. 新疆檔	1819, 1836–1911	30	per catalogue; Qu says contents limited to 1819–1861	appointments
4. 大員子弟交片檔	?	?	not in catalogue; described in Qu	appointments
5. 軍政卓異檔	1832–1897	?	not in catalogue; described in Qu	appointments
6. 正藍旗滿洲官員冊	1784	1	Qu omits	personnel register
Imperial tours, Rehe, Mukden				
7. 東京總理檔	1735–1765	23	Qu omits	unknown
8. 盛京檔	1741–1829	16		Mukden palace
9. 木蘭檔/外圍檔	1741–1861	109	bilingual	imperial hunts
10. 五臺檔	1746–1811	8		Wutai shan
11. 留京辦事檔	1746–1803	84		reports from capital during tour
12. 山東檔	1748–1749, 1771	2		Southern Tours
13. 江南檔	1750–1751, 1762–1765	8	Qu omits	Southern Tours
14. 和圃利檔	1750–1786	21	Qu omits	Mukden
15. 處事擋	1765–1854	21		Mukden
16. 留京檔	1767–1784	9		reports from capital during tour
17. 天津檔	1794–1807	4		Southern Tours
Frontier and military affairs				
18. 俄羅斯擋	Kangxi reign–1889	50		Russia
19. 俄羅斯來文	Kangxi reign–1791	17		Russia
20. 北路軍務	1731	37		Dzungars
21. 非究焊郎	1731–1748	9		Dzungars
22. 俄羅斯行文	1732–1887	98		Russia
23. 夷使檔	1734–1754	8		Dzungar emissaries to Beijing
24. 減郎	1741–1748	4		Dzungar missions to Tibet
25. 西路檔	1743–1747	2		
26. 金川檔	1748–1776	11	Qu says 1769–1776	Jinchuan wars; includes draft of *Jinchuan fanglue*
27. 西藏檔	1750–1751, 1788–1791	13		Tibet
28. 俄羅斯外文	1756–1788, 1851–1854	24		Russia
29. 年班來京藩檔	1763–1819	10		annual embassies to Beijing
30. 土爾扈特檔	1771	24	published in translation	Torghuts
31. 班禪事件檔	1779–1781	10		visit of Panchen Lama to Chengde
32. 哈薩克檔	1783–1791	4		Khazakhs
33. 回子伯克檔	1786–1851	7		Muslim *begs*
34. 巴勒布檔	1789	4		Tibet
35. 廓爾克[客]檔	1791–1847	12		Gurkhas
Miscellaneous				
36. 抄錄	1754–1806, 1899	108	Qu omits	unknown
37. 滿洲源流考	1760s	5		drafts of chapters from *Manzhou yuanliu kao*
38. 朱批檔	1767–1813	5	Qu omits	unknown

Table 2 (*cont.*)

Source: FHA catalogues; Qu, "Qingdai junjichu Manwen dang'an gaishu."

The documents categorized under "Banner Affairs" include large numbers of household registers, reports on absconded personnel, and documents relating to selection of palace women (Ch. *xiunü*, Ma. *sargan jui*).[44] The earliest items date from the Yongzheng reign, with the majority from the Guangxu and Xuantong reigns. By far the largest number of documents (well over 10,000) is found under "Appointments." These include charts of succession to the captaincy of different companies in all eight of the Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese banners, both in Beijing and in the garrisons; correspondence related to same; also genealogies, requests for leaves of absence, and petitions to retire. "Legal Cases" contains documents relating to 850 incidents (e.g., violent crime, property disputes) involving bannermen that arose between 1712 and 1912 (again, most are from the nineteenth century). Another 41 documents pertain to the selection of bannermen for the constitutional commission formed in 1905. "Military Affairs" contains reports of selection, training, and inspections of banner troops in the capital and provinces. Under "External Activities" are filed, among other things, five documents from the Shunzhi through Qianlong reigns noting gifts from Korean missions and reports on Japan. "Fiscal Affairs" and "Public Works" contain materials on salary and grain payments, expenses, collection of rents, and construction and repair of banner housing, from the 1720s through to 1910. Reports on successful degree candidates and the Eight Banner schools are filed under "Education." Sacrificial texts, documents concerning imperial birthdays, weddings, audiences, and funerals are filed under "Rites."

All in all, though the variety of materials is great, the Eight Banner Command archives do not contain a systematic, cumulative archive comparable to the Grand Secretariat *shishu* or *huangce* or the Grand Council *lufu zouzhe* or *yuezhe bao* (where much information on the banners may be found). The most extensive single type of document collection is that of genealogies and succession charts (many of these are found in collections abroad as well). Because they were compiled triennially, Eight Banner household registers must have been even greater in number, but it appears that the great majority of these have now been lost for most of the regular banner population in Beijing and China proper.[45] Nevertheless, used in combination with other materials—in particular the *Lichao baqi zadang* and *Baqi shixipu dang* described earlier—their importance for work on the Eight Banners should not be underestimated.

Table 3. Eight Banner Command Archives by category

Item	No. of bundles	Item	No. of bundles
Banner Affairs	41	Public Works	3
Appointments	482	Real Estate	23
Legal Affairs	23	Education	34
Suppression of Revolutionary Movements	1	Rites	36
Allied Expeditionary Force Invasion	2	General	2
Military Affairs	64	Charts	15
External Activities	4	Other	73
Fiscal Affairs	51	TOTAL	856

Source: FHA catalogue.

Imperial Palace Archives. The most important constituent of this record group is without question the palace memorials. While these might be considered as falling within the purview of the Grand Council, which eventually took over their transmission (and made copies of everything), the palace memorial system arose independently of the Grand Council, and the originals (which, after 1722, memorialists were supposed to return to the palace at the end of every year) were stored separately in the palace. Therefore it is customary to treat them as part of the *gongzhong* record group. Before discussing the palace memorials, however, I would like to introduce some of the other, less well known Manchu-language Imperial Palace archives. These items, while fragmentary in nature and little used, contain many surprises. They are found in two separate catalogues, *Gongzhong Manwen zadang* (cat. no. 323/4-48) and *Gongzhong Manwen zajian* (cat, no. 324/4-49), the former consisting mainly of copybooks and files, the latter of original documents. Their contents are summarized in Tables 4 and 5.

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[44] More Eight Banner household registers are kept with the Board of Revenue Chinese-language archives and in the Imperial Household Department archives.

[45] One might note two exceptions. Household registers for banner populations—a large proportion of which was unfree, attached to imperial estates—survive in large numbers for the Northeast (Manchuria). Also, the population registers for the imperial household survive intact. On these materials, see the volume by James Lee (Li Zhongqing) and Guo Songyi, eds., *Qingdai huangzu renkou xingwei he shehui huanjing* (Beijing: Beijing University Press, 1994) and James Lee and Cameron Campbell, *Fate and Fortune in Rural China: Social Organization and Population Behavior in Liaoning, 1774–1873* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Table 4. Contents of the *Gongzhong Manwen zadang*

Item	Date	No. of *ce*	Remarks
1. 御前侍衛冊	1651	1	
2. 奏事檔	1696–1697	5	
3. 康熙至額来勒巡韋事件檔	1720	1	
4. 日記檔	Kangxi reign – 1792	7	catalogue says 35 items, omits *jinbendon*
5. 記諭旨檔	1723–1796	8	
6. 奏事處雜錄檔	1729–1735	2	catalogue says 74 items through Guangxu
7. 左右翼射箭中耙檔	1735	11	
8. 旨意檔	Yongzheng – Daoguang reigns	4	catalogue says through Guangxu
9. 綽蟲郎	1742–1796	16	
10. 值班檔	1742–1873	128	
11. 八旗都統衙門六項削例	1765	1	
12. 綠頭牌樣簿	1849	1	
13. 祭文底簿	Guangxu reign	1	
14. 人名雜錄檔	n.d.	4	
15. 批本處所存事件檔	n.d.	3	
16. 滿文名人傳稿本	n.d.	1	
17. 官員品級稿本	n.d.	2	
18. 名官員所欠銀兩敝目冊	n.d.	4	
19. 十二字頭	n.d.	2	
20. 雜檔	n.d.	8 *jian*	
TOTAL		210	

Source: FHA catalogue.

Table 5. Contents of the *Gongzhong Manwen zajian*

Item	Date	No. of *jian*	Remarks
1. 朱批票簽	1671–	~6,807	
2. 御製碑文紀(經朱改)	Kangxi – Qianlong reigns	65	inaccurately catalogued
3. 進單	Kangxi – Daoguang reigns	2,207	
4. 朱諭	Kangxi – Xianfeng reigns	356	
5. 朱批奏摺	Kangxi – Guangxu reigns	2,110	
6. 諭旨匯奏	1723–1911	1,218	
7. 儀注	Yongzheng reign	57	
8. 陪祀單	1748–ca. 1911	388	
9. 朝單	1748–ca. 1911	6,777	
10. 奏事處來文	1753–ca. 1911	498	complete for 1810–1812
11. 記名人員名單	Guangxu reign	171	
12. 請安指	n.d.	905	
13. 朱批缺單	n.d.	1,416	
14. 朱批簽	n.d.	200	
15. 值班人員名單	n.d.	~16,262	
16. 謝恩官Q數目單	n.d.	78	
17. 葉爾姜和田等地伯克頭人源流	n.d.	13	
18. 中庸大學論語易經詩經翻譯稿	n.d.	171	
19. 朱改無量壽佛頌等文	n.d.	13	
20. 碑文底	n.d.	60	
21. 五臺山各寺數目單	n.d.	5	
22. 軍令條約	n.d.	26	
23. 朱改聖訓序等文	n.d.	43	
24. 蒙文字頭課本等	n.d.	10	
25. 佛經等	n.d.	36	
TOTAL		~39,907	

Source: FHA catalogue.

Table 5 (*cont.*)

A number of the *Manwen zadang* items (e.g., nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10) originated in the transmission of documents to and from the palace; they record the arrival of memorials, dates of edicts, personnel on duty, and such information. Others contain material of an appropriately miscellaneous nature, such as a 28-page narrative account of a 1720 incident in the Altai (no. 3), the record of a 1735 archery competition among members of the imperial guardsmen (no. 7), a hand-copied version of regulations for the Eight Banner command office (no. 11), and the workbook of a certain Sanciowan for practicing handwriting (no. 19). Though there are some similarities, the contents of the *Manwen zajian* are yet more diverse. There is a large number of palace memorials, some of which do not appear to have been included in the published translations of Manchu memorials (more on this below); drafts of inscriptions (e.g., for stelae at temples, tombs, military commemorations, the Yuanming yuan), as well as drafts of sacrificial texts and translations (e.g., of the Chinese classics and Buddhist texts). These latter are complete with changes made by the imperial brush.

The Manchu-language Palace Memorials and the Origins of the Palace Memorial System

For sheer pleasure of handling there is little to compare with the Qing palace memorials, some even with brilliant brocade covers, written in precise calligraphy on fine paper and capped by a dramatic vermilion flourish at the end. As others have pointed out, they are also a great pleasure to read, particularly those from the early and middle Qing, when the palace memorials were the prime means of direct personal communication between the active, involved sovereign and his servitors.[46] Given that a bond of ethnic solidarity tended to characterize the emperor's relationship with his Manchu officials—with whom, of course, he preferred to communicate in Manchu—the Manchu palace memorials offer a unique window onto different aspects of Qing rule.[47] This section offers a detailed analysis of the whereabouts of the Manchu palace memorials and a reconsideration of the origins of the palace memorial system with reference to some of the earliest surviving documents.

The Manchu-language Palace Memorials

The exact number of Manchu-language palace memorials that survive in the archives is unknown. The Kangxi-, Yongzheng-, and Qianlong-era Manchu palace memorials probably constitute the majority of those extant, but until we learn more about the nineteenth-century portion, this remains uncertain. For the Kangxi reign, of the total 10,000 palace memorials extant, approximately 5,800 are in Manchu. Of these, some 700 are in the NPM archives in Taipei; these have all been published in facsimile.[48] The remainder is all in the FHA; translations of most of these documents have been published, together with translations of the Taipei Manchu memorials. For the Yongzheng reign, there is a total of about 33,000 palace memorials, of which about 6,800 are in Manchu: 1000 or so are in the NPM and 5,800 in the FHA. The former have been published in facsimile and have now been translated into Chinese, together with most of the FHA memorials. For the Qianlong reign, numbers are much less certain. Since the memorials of each of these three reign periods are catalogued separately in the FHA, I will describe each in turn.

Manchu palace memorials from the Kangxi reign in the FHA are found in three different catalogues: *Kangxi chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe mulu* (cat. no. 508/4-92), *Kangxi chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe jigoubao mulu* (no catalogue number), and *Gongzhong Manwen zajian mulu* (cat. no. 324/4-49; see Table 5, no. 5 above). The first catalogue contains 4,493 palace memorials, divided among 516 entries. 32 entries are identified only by category (the 18 topics) and 484 by memorialist and then category. In the 32 category-only entries are 210 memorials; in the 484 memorialist + category entries are 4,283 memorials, spread among 91 memorialists. More than one-quarter of these 91 have more than 50 memorials to their names, several (including two imperial sons) with over 100. In addition to this main catalogue, there is a secondary catalogue, identified as *jigoubao*, as its contents are classified according to the department that submitted the memorial, not the person. In this catalogue (divided into 33 entries) are found an additional 444 Manchu-language palace memorials from the Kangxi reign.[49] Finally, there is *Gongzhong Manwen zajian mulu*, which contains 111 items, many in very fragile condition.

Total Kangxi-period Manchu palace memorials: 5,048 items (5,789 including 741 items in the NPM).

Manchu palace memorials from the Yongzheng reign are listed in four different catalogues. The most important is *Yongzheng chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe fenlei lijuan mulu* (cat. no. 506/4-90). The first part of this catalogue, with 1,970 documents, is divided according to category (for details, see Table 6). The second part, with 3,524 documents,[50] is divided according to memorialist, of which there are 271. Since for 90% of memorialists fewer than fifty memorials remain, the Yongzheng collection is on the whole more dispersed than the Kangxi collection. The second catalogue, a subset of the first distinguished only by the additional label *yileijia* (cat. no. 505/4-89), lists 107 documents, many having to do with frontier and

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[46] See Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers, passim.*

[47] See Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 160–71.

[48] Not all of the Manchu documents published in the NPM *Gongzhongdang* volumes are in fact palace memorials (twelve of the first fifteen in Vol. 8 of the Kangxi-reign memorials are not), but for present purposes I will count them as such.

[49] This includes 95 items that appear in the catalogue as undated (packet 26) but which in fact bear dates from the Kangxi era.

[50] The catalogue claims 3,618, but this would appear to be an arithmetical error.

Table 6. Sample distribution of Yongzheng-period Manchu palace memorials

Type Date	内政	財政	軍務	民族	法律	交通工程工業	廣業水利	其他	Total
1723	163	33	117	39	4	1	8	30	395 (20%)
1724	115	21	52	6	11	8	17	2	232 (12%)
1725	30	10	56	6	15	1	5	2	125 (6%)
1726	30	7	47	7	4	1	2	1	99 (5%)
1727	106	3	61	10	1	—	1	—	182 (9%)
1728	111	4	198	1	—	—	2	—	316 (16%)
1729	26	6	22	2	4	4	1	2	67 (4%)
1730	25	5	13	8	1	2	—	2	56 (3%)
1731	1	2	7	5	—	—	—	—	15 (1%)
1732	6	3	11	18	2	—	—	—	40 (2%)
1733	16	2	37	2	2	1	3	—	63 (3%)
1734	83	5	100	3	4	1	2	6	204 (10%)
1735	57	11	68	3	3	1	6	—	149 (8%)
no date	8	2	12	3	2	1	—	—	28 (1%)
Total	777 (39%)	114 (6%)	801 (41%)	113 (6%)	53 (3%)	21 (1%)	47 (2%)	45 (2%)	1,971 (100%)

Source: FHA *Yongzhengchao Manwen zhupi zouzhe fenlei lijuan* catalogue.

border affairs. One would not think to look here, but *Kangxi chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe jigoubao mulu* is a third catalogue containing Yongzheng palace memorials, with entries for 153 documents. An additional 63 memorials from the Yongzheng reign are found in the *Gongzhong Manwen zajian* catalogue.

Total Yongzheng-period Manchu palace memorials: 5,817 items (6,811 including 994 items in the NPM).

Cataloguing of Manchu memorials from the Qianlong reign is still very rough. For now, documents are listed in three catalogues. The two most important are *Gongzhong Manwen zhupi zouzhe dengji mulu* (cat. no. 158/4-19-12) and *Gongzhong Manwen zhupi zouzhe caomu* (cat. nos. 158/4-19-1 through 4-19-10). Both of these list materials that have remained essentially undisturbed since they were wrapped for storage in the eighteenth century.

The first catalogue contains listings for 680 packets (*bao*) of Qianlong-era Manchu palace memorials. Packets are ordered by date only, and average about eleven per year. The precise total number of memorials this represents is hard to say, as an individual packet may contain as few as five or as many as one hundred items. My estimate is that there are approximately 27,200 documents in this group.[51] The materials in the second catalogue (which is in ten volumes) appear all to date from 1754 or later. They are ordered internally not by date but by memorialist, arranged according to Manchu alphabetical order (words beginning with vowels, words beginning with n, with k/g/h, with b, etc.). A total of 20,912 Manchu palace memorials are listed here (see Table 7).[52] The third catalogue with Qianlong palace memorials is the *Gongzhong Manwen zajian* catalogue, with 448, in seven packets. The earliest of these are from the first year of the Qianlong reign, and go through the 1770s.

Total Qianlong-period Manchu palace memorials: 48,560 (48,750 including 190 items in the NPM).

From the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong reigns, then, there remain a total of about 61,350 Manchu palace memorials. There are, in addition, an unknown number from later reigns. The *Gongzhong Manwen zhupi zouzhe dengji* catalogue lists 452 packets of Manchu memorials from the Jiaqing reign, 241 from the Daoguang reign, 125 from the Xianfeng era, 13 from the Tongzhi era, and 14 from the Guangxu reign. If we estimate using the same average number of documents per packet (40) as before, these 845 packets contain another 33,800 palace memorials. This would bring the total number of Manchu palace memorials to over 95,000. This is admittedly greater than the FHA's own estimate of "over 80,000" Manchu palace memorials for all reigns,[53] and so might be taken as a high-end figure. Assuming these estimates are roughly correct, this would mean that Manchu palace memorials account for between 14% and 16% of all palace memorials in the FHA (there are 488,777 Chinese-language *zouzhe*), and around 12% of the total 727,000 palace memorials in both the FHA and NPM. This is consistent with the overall proportion of Manchu-language archives as a whole for the Qing. As time goes by and more detailed cataloguing becomes possible, more accurate numbers will undoubtedly become available, particularly for the Qianlong and later reign periods.

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[51] This estimate is derived by multiplying the total number of packets (680) by an estimated average number of documents per packet (40). I arrived at this average by dividing the approximate number of documents (4,539) contained in a total 114 packets I examined dating from between 1736–1760.

[52] The last two of the twelve word-initials (Ch. *shi-er zitou*, Ma. *juwan juwe ujui bithe*) are not represented in these ten volumes, leading one to suspect that at least one other "name packet" (*renming bao*) may exist (this is confirmed by the numbering sequence, which is missing no. 4–19–11).

[53] This and following figures are taken from the introduction to *Qingdai zhupi zouzhe caizhenglei mulu*, First Historical Archives, comp. (Beijing: Zhongguo caizheng jingji chubanshe, 1990), 2.

Table 7. *Gongzhong Manwen zhupi zouzhe caomu* (Qianlong reign)

Catalogue no.	No. of memorials	No. of memorialists	Well-known officials represented
158/4-19-1	3,025	19	Agūi, Amursana
4-19-2	3,330	11	
4-19-3	1,001	20	Ohūi, Udašan
4-19-4	2,140	22	Nayantai, Hailanca
4-19-5	1,635	21	
4-19-6	2,375	17	Bandi
4-19-7	1,838	28	Songyun
4-19-8	2,706	17	Šuhede
4-19-9	2,069	43	Dafu
4-19-10	793	17	Leboo
Total	20,912	215	

Chinese Translations of the Manchu Palace Memorials

As noted above, the Manchu palace memorials from both the Kangxi and Yongzheng reigns have recently been translated into Chinese. The result of many years' hard work by the Manchu Section staff of the FHA, their appearance is to be greatly applauded, as they inform the wider scholarly community of the very rich content of these historical sources. Researchers who would be unable to make use of them in the Manchu original should be especially pleased that so much new material is now available in Chinese. At the same time, these documents must be approached with all the caution one would normally reserve for any translation. Following are some brief comments on the problems facing the scholar who wishes to make use of these valuable resources.

First of all, it needs to be said that a translation project such as this requires a tremendous amount of dedication and diligence. The sheer volume of the material is daunting—the translations run to 27 million characters (for the Kangxi memorials) and 47 million characters (for the Yongzheng memorials) each! Added to this are the other challenges of deciphering unclear orthography and unraveling obscure terminology in order to figure out what was meant in the original and how best to say it in another language. This is no easy task, as anyone who has tried translating Manchu documents can testify, and any translation inevitably incurs occasional lapses, especially when the scale of the project is great, as in this case.

My own close comparison of twenty or so translations of individual documents with the Manchu originals persuades me that they are, on the whole, accurate and reliable. One difficulty I have discovered has to do, not with outright mistakes (there are few of these),[54] but with interpretations of uncertain passages. I will cite just a few examples from a very early palace memorial from the twelfth year of the Kangxi reign (dated KX12.11.29 = 5 January 1674) from Šanggitu, Director of Palace Storehouses. The Manchu text of this item is as follows:

wesimburengge . . .
dorgi ku-i icihiyara hafan amban šanggitu sei gingguleme
wesimburengge . . .
donjibume wesimbure jalin. juwan biyai ice jakūn de. taigiyan
yang ce.
dergi hese seme. šanggiyan ulhu jakūnju gamaha . . .
juwan emu de. haha juse nartai.
dergi hese seme. menggun dehi yan gamaha . . .
tofohon de. taigiyan yang ce. taigiyan li ši oi be takūrafi.
dergi hese seme. mao kin diyan de baitalara teišun-i obokū emke
gamaha . . .
juwan jakūn de. gu taigiyan.
dergi hese weile seme. teišun-i teile muwašame. muhaliyan
fuhešere. hiyūn lu emke weilefi gamaha . . .
orin uyun de. taigiyan yang ce. taigiyan lio wen šeng be
takūrafi.
dergi hese seme. bosho durun-i teišun-i tilu emke
gamaha . . . erei jalin gingguleme
donjibume wesimbuhe . . .
elhe taifin-i juwan juweci aniya omšon
biyai orin uyun.
menggun. furdehe jurgan-i icihiyara hafan
amban šanggitu.

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[54] One such apparent error is found in the translation of a 1723 memorial from Jingzhou garrison general Unaha. The original text of the question in passage reads: "*nikasa de ume basubure ele ginggule ele olhošo.*" The FHA translators render this as follows: *wu chaonong Hanren, yi jia jinshen* ("Do not ridicule the Chinese, [but] increase caution"). The dative-locative particle *de* and the causative form of the verb *basumbi*, "to ridicule," make it clear, however, that the object of the verb is not "Han Chinese" (Ma. *nikasa*) but the recipient of the message, i.e., Unaha. The implication of the subsequent words (on "caution") is also quite different. Thus a correct literal translation of this passage would be, "No getting ridiculed by the Chinese. The more [they] respect [us], the more [they will be] cautious." The Manchu original is found in FHA, *Yongzheng Manwen zhupi zouzhe*, packet 509, Unaha, YZ1.9.25; the Chinese translation is in *Yongzheng chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi*, no. 700, p. 381.

> icihiyara hafan bime. emu jergi wasimbuha
> amban martai.
>
> Rescript (on front, in Chinese): *zhidaoliao*[55]

My translation of this memorial runs:

> Memorializing. Department Director of Palace Storehouses Šanggitu et al., reverently memorializing.
>
> Reporting matter: On the eighth [day] of the tenth month, the eunuch Yang Ce, citing an imperial edict, took away eighty white ermine pelts. On the eleventh [day], the *haha juse* Nartai, citing an imperial edict, took away forty taels of silver. On the fifteenth [day], the eunuch Yang Ce sent the eunuch Li Shiyu and, citing an imperial edict, took away one copper basin used in the Maoqin palace. On the eighteenth [day], the eunuch Gu, citing an imperial edict saying, "Make [it]," took pure copper [and], crudely rolling it into a sphere, made it into an incense burner and took it away. On the twenty-ninth [day], the eunuch Yang Ce sent the eunuch Liu Wensheng and, citing an imperial edict, took away one kidney-shaped copper portable heater. On these matters we reverently present a report.
>
> Twenty-ninth day of the eleventh month of the twelfth year of "Universal Peace."
>
> Šanggitu, Department director of the imperial silver and fur store houses.
>
> Martai, Department director, elevated one rank.
>
> Rescript (on front, in Chinese): Acknowledged.

The Chinese translation of this text appears as follows:[56]

> 朱批: 知道了
> 內庫郎巾臣尚吉圃等謹奏： 為奏聞事。
> 竊照十月初八日， 太監楊徹指稱上諭領銀鼠皮八十張以去。十一日，
> 男童
> 鈉爾泰指稱上諭領銀四十兩以去。十五日， 太監楊徹派太監李世玉
> 指稱上
> 諭領懋勘殿所用銅洗臉盆一個以去。十八日, 顧太監指稱上諭, 製逍
> 銅粗
> 圓轉熏爐一個帶去。二十九日， 太監揚徹派太監劉文生指稱上諭領
> 銅腰提
> 爐一個。為此謹具奏聞。
> 銀庫, 皮庫郎中臣尚吉圓, 郎中降一級大臣馬爾岱。

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[55] FHA, *Kangxi chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe jigou bao*, packet 26. Single and double periods, corresponding to partial and full stops, represent the original punctuation. Proximity to the left margin indicates text elevation in the original, which is 6.5 × 15 cm in size.

[56] Translated from text in *Kangxi chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi*, p. 3.

At first glance, this translation seems fine. Yet there are at least three areas where one might raise questions. First, the phrase *haha juse* is an unmistakably plural form, but the name of only one boy (Nartai) is given in the document. Either there were other, unnamed, boys involved, or, more likely, *haha juse* here is not being used in its literal sense ("boys"), but in the special sense of "young male attendant" or "page." Using a method widely applied to unfamiliar Manchu terminology, Chinese-language documents from the early Qing sometimes render this term phonetically, writing *ha-ha zhu-zi or ha-ha zhu-sai* when it was clear that "page" was the intended meaning. Though a minor point, one might like to have seen this possible ambiguity somehow indicated in the text of the translation (there are no footnotes here or anywhere in the volume suggesting uncertainty of meaning). The second problematic passage follows in the entry for the 18th day. How should we understand *"gu taigiyan. dergi hese weile seme. teišun-i teile muwašame. muhaliyan fuhešere. hiyūn lu emke weilefi gamaha..."*? The Chinese translation in the FHA, which omits the one-word content of the edict to eunuch Gu, says that he made a "crude revolving incense burner of copper" and took it away. An alternative reading of this passage suggests that the eunuch Gu rolled (Ma. *fuhešembi*) the copper to make the incense burner, and not that the incense burner itself revolved ("revolve" in Manchu is usually expressed by the verb *forgošombi*). The third place where the translation might be questioned comes in the translation of *bosho durun-i teišun-i tilu.* Absent from Manchu dictionaries, *tilu* is evidently a borrowing from Chinese. The Chinese translation says only that a "waist portable heater" (Ch. *yao tilu*) was taken, and gives no information as to its appearance. The word *yao* can, of course, mean kidney, but it is not clear from the FHA translation that the copper heater was in fact in the shape of a kidney (as opposed to being a heater one might use to warm one's back).

In all these cases, the decision not to include facsimiles or transcriptions of original texts, which would have made it possible to double-check important passages, is a serious omission. One also regrets the decision to disregard the original look of documents (including the color of imperial rescripts, which are in blue or black ink during mourning), to omit the raising of lines (Ch. *taitou*), and to introduce new paragraphing. For example, a 1709 memorial of Cisinu, document number 1430 in *Kangxi chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi*, is noted there as bearing a vermilion rescript (Ch. *zhupi*, Ma. *fulgiyan fi*), when in fact the rescript is in black: *"saha. ereci amasi jeku maise-i erin-i hūda be wesimbure jedz* *de ara*."[57] (The Qianlong emperor's rescripts on late-Yongzheng memorials are, however, noted as being in black ink.) A 1722 memorial from Huang Bing, document number 287 in *Yongzheng chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi*, carries an imperial rescript, but there is no note here that this is not actually a translation (the original rescript is in Chinese).[58] All of these elements combine to put the original Manchu text at some remove from the reader.

This problem of distance is compounded when one confronts the language of the translations. In general the translators have chosen to reproduce in the Chinese versions language that is similar to Chinese-language palace memorials. In many ways, this is a sound decision. One would not expect imperial proclamations to be translated into English as, "I was thinking about things the other day, and I decided. . . ." However, the result is that the feel of the translated Chinese text differs considerably from that of the Manchu original. The classical Chinese language used by the officials of the empire possessed tremendous power and dignity, and its vocabulary was austere and commanding. Manchu, on the other hand, only acquired an alphabet in 1599 and had no classical repertoire to back it up. It was just not possible to write with the same adroit elegance in Manchu. While it may thus fairly be said that Manchu lacked majesty, it had a refreshing vigor and directness; the use of grammatical particles and verbal conjugations further abetted clarity of meaning. As a result, the language of the Manchu palace memorials borders on the colloquial, and often lapses into it. For example, the emperor referred to himself simply as "I" (Ma. *bi*)—there being no imperial "We," no equivalent to the Chinese *zhen* at his disposal. Manchu officials were supposed to refer to themselves as "[your] slave" (Ma. *aha*), but as often as not they also referred to themselves also as "I" within texts. The distance between ruler and servant was thus much diminished in Manchu-language documents. All of this is lost in translation. It is true, of course, that the Manchu palace memorials are not literary monuments. But it is not hard to see how translating them into Chinese—as convenient as it makes things for most Qing historians—fundamentally alters the original nature of these materials and robs them of the novel perspective they give when read in Manchu.

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[57] FHA, *Gongzhong Manwen zajian* packet no. 1 (KX48.6.8).

[58] FHA, *Yongzheng chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe*, packet 22, memorial of Hūwang Bing.

The third, and in some ways most serious, problem with the translated Manchu palace memorials is that of completeness. For example, there is a considerable discrepancy between the total number of Kangxi-period memorials extant (5,789) and the total number of memorials translated in the 1996 *Kangxi chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi* (4,297). It seems that this "complete translation" is in fact not so complete, after all. 132 of the missing 1,492 memorials are accounted for when we discover that only 609 of the 741 NPM documents were included for translation in the volume published by the FHA.[59] As for the rest, the compilers themselves explain in the introduction to the volume that they elected not to include for translation greetings memorials (Ch. *qing'an zhe*, Ma. *elhe be baibure jedz*) "of no historical value," i.e., items deemed to be of an entirely routine nature, carrying one of two perfunctory responses from the emperor (*"mini beye elhe"* [I am fine] and *"saha"* [Acknowledged]). Whatever one makes of this judgment, there is no information as to how many items were thereby dropped. One would like to think that this explains the absence of the remaining 1,360 memorials. But it appears there are lacunae that cannot be accounted for this way: a spot check of Kangxi-period documents reveals that at least 42 memorials sent between 1707 and 1721 are somehow missing from the FHA translations volume.[60] Some, though by no means all, of these are greetings memorials, and even the greetings memorials carry unusual rescripts that render them of definite "historical value." There are also gaps in the Yongzheng translated volumes, where 5,434 out of the total 6,811 memorials appear. Most of the missing 1,377 are no doubt greetings memorials. Yet a random check of memorials for the twelfth year of the Yongzheng reign (1734), reveals that at least sixteen different items—none of them greetings memorials—are absent.[61] For these reasons, until a complete facsimile edition becomes available, historians seriously interested in utilizing the Manchu palace memorials are better off traveling to the FHA and consulting materials first hand, using the translation volumes as a guide to their content.[62]

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[59] This is my conclusion after a close comparison of the FHA and NPM volumes.

[60] Including those of Yentai (packets 240 and 241), G'oli (packets 261 and 262), Nentei (packet 272), Centai (packet 284), and Toolai (packet 294).

[61] By memorialist/date, these are Wanggūri/YZ1.8.4, Farsan/YZ12.2.2, Asan/YZ12.4.12, Jangge/YZ12.4.20, Mantai/YZ12.4.29, Bašinu/YZl2.6.3, Mingxan/YZ12.6.10, Samboo/YZ12.6.16, Lioge/YZ12.6.27, Hesing/YZ12.8.6, Jangge/YZ12.8.28, Fobiyoo/YZ12.9.10, Delfin/YZ12.10.15, Buyantu/YZ12.10.17, Gendusehe/YZ12.11.5, and Jartai/YZ12.12.22. In addition, two reports by Tulišen on negotiations with Russia (both dated YZ5.7.8, in packet 45 of *Gongzhong Manwen zajian*) appear to have been omitted, along with a memorial from Cingfu (YZ13.4.26) on talks with Galdan Cereng. I personally examined all of these items on visits to the FHA in 1990 and 1995.

Whatever their limitations, the translations of the Kangxi and Yongzheng palace memorials nonetheless represent a major step forward in promoting the importance of Manchu-language archives for research on the Qing. The Kangxi volume in particular helps advance our knowledge of the beginnings of the palace memorial system. Until recently it has been supposed that the first palace memorials were sent in August 1693, when the Kangxi emperor requested the bondservants Li Xu and Cao Yin to provide him confidential information on miscellaneous developments in the provinces.[63] But it is clear now from this volume that palace memorials in Manchu were already being sent twenty years before this.[64] In the remainder of this essay, I would like to review the beginnings of the palace memorial system in the light of recently discovered early Manchu documents.

Reconsidering the Origins of the Palace Memorial System

Previous treatments of the rise of the palace memorial system have stressed the high degree of secrecy afforded by this new form of communication.[65]

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[62] Unfortunately, they are of little use as a finding aid. Neither volume contains any indication whatsoever of a translated document's location in the archives. To track down the original of a given document, one is still required to search from scratch through the different catalogues.

[63] Jonathan D. Spence, *Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor: Bondservant and Master* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 225.

[64] This point has been made in two separate essays by Guan Xiaolian: "Qing Kangxi chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe chuyi," 84–90, and "Zailun zouzhe qiyuan ji qi tedian," paper delivered at the Second Conference on Ming-Qing Archives and Historical Research to Commemorate the 70th Anniversary of the Founding of the First Historical Archives, Beijing, October 1995.

[65] See John K. Fairbank and Ssu-yu Teng, "On the Transmission of Ch'ing Documents," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (1940), 2–71; Silas H.L. Wu, "The Memorial Systems of the Ch'ing Dynasty, 1644–1911," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 27 (1965), 7–75 and *Communication and Imperial Control in China: Evolution of the Palace Memorial System, 1693–1795* (Cambridge: Harvard Council on East Asian Studies, 1970), Chuang Chi-fa, *Qingdai zouzhe zhidu* (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1979); and Beatrice S. Bartlett, "Ch'ing Palace Memorials in the Archives of the National Palace Museum," *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 13.6 (January–February 1979). Sec also Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers*. Palace memorials were written on sheets of paper anywhere from 8 to 24 centimeters high, and of unlimited length, that were folded in concertina style so that they were between 4 and 12 centimeters wide (standard fold size was 24 × 12 cm). The differences in appearance and format between *zouzhe* and *tiben*—the most important perhaps being that the latter

In contrast to the relatively insecure system for the transmission of routine memorials (which were sent by the imperial post and subject to the various translation procedures described above), Qing palace memorials were transmitted directly between the memorialist and the emperor by private courier, usually a bondservant of the memorialist. During transport they were placed in tamper-proof locked wooden boxes or in envelopes that were glued shut and sealed with wax.[66] Once at the palace, they were delivered at the Chancery of Memorials (Ch. *zoushi chu*, Ma. *baita wesimbure ba*), located near the Qianqing gate at the threshold of the inner palace, rather than at the Transmission Office outside the Forbidden City. This revolutionary way of handling communications made possible the exchange of private messages to and from the throne. That memorialists were obliged to write messages themselves, without turning to others for assistance, further heightened their intimacy. The emperor, too, wrote his own comments personally in red, at which point the rescripted memorial was returned to the sender.

The secrecy assured by the palace memorial system (at least in its early years—it became much less private during the Qianlong reign) encouraged both memorialist and emperor to share sensitive information and undoubtedly contributed to its rapid adoption by the Qing court.[67] The creation of a broad-based yet confidential intelligence network was of particular importance to the Manchus, who, as alien rulers, were somewhat obsessed with matters of security. Equally important, as Bartlett has pointed out, the palace memorial system allowed the ruler to make decisions on matters without creating precedents that would limit his

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carried the impress of the memorialist's seal of office while the former did not—are outlined in Wu, *Communication and Control*, 28–29 and Chuang, *Qingdai zouzhe zhidu*, 25–26. The Manchu term *jedz*, a loan from Chinese, much predates the "native" word *bukdari* (from *bukdambi*, "to fold"), a calque invented in the Qianlong reign. Apart from the script, there is no difference in the form of Manchu and Chinese memorials, save that Chinese memorials open from left to right, Manchu memorials in the reverse direction.

[66] A photograph of such a box is shown in Bartlett, "Ch'ing Palace Memorials," 5. A detailed description of memorial envelopes is given in Spence, *Ts'ao Yin*, 220, though he makes no mention of wax seals. I chanced across a few among the documents I examined.

[67] Miyazaki Ichisada once suggested that the palace memorial system gained popularity also because it was faster ("Shinchō ni okeru kokugo mondai no ichimen," *Tōhōshi ronsō* 1 (1947), 1–56). However, this does not seem to have been the case. Routine memorials were supposed to be processed in four days, and, at least before 1728, tended to arrive more quickly at the capital from the provinces. See Wu, *Communication and Control*, 28–32, and Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers*, 54–55.

decision-making freedom in the future.[68] By the nineteenth century, the palace memorial system had nearly entirely supplanted the routine memorial system—an ironic development, as *tiben* had originally been a Ming innovation to provide more effective communication with the center than that provided by the earlier *zouben* system left by the Yuan[69]—and in 1901 the *tiben* were discontinued altogether.

While the issue of the secret nature of the Qing palace memorial system thus appears settled, the matter of the system's precise origins is more problematic. As noted, the 1693 memorials of Li Xu and Cao Yin have long been taken to be the earliest communications of their kind and as such have been carefully analyzed for clues as to the system's beginnings. Since Li and Cao often took to appending information on weather and prices to ordinary greetings memorials, Jonathan Spence proposed that the system began in an *ad hoc* fashion, and that the Kangxi emperor, at once grasping the possible advantages of such confidential reports, ordered them to continue, at the same time cautioning that, "It is absolutely imperative that nobody should know about these memorials."[70] A slightly different hypothesis was put forward by Silas H.L. Wu. Writing, like Spence, well before the publication of the NPM facsimiles (and decades before the FHA translations), Wu accepted that the August 1693 memorial from Li Xu was the first palace memorial. Like Spence, Wu also mentioned that using "personal" memorials as a means of obtaining information about the situation in the provinces was an idea that first occurred to the emperor. Also like Spence, Wu stressed the point that these first memorials from Li and Cao were simple greetings to which the men had just happened to add a bit of local news. Wu went beyond Spence, however, to suggest that this use of the greetings memorial arose out of an old Manchu practice of sending greetings to the head of the banner or to the emperor to formally inquire after their health or convey wishes on auspicious occasions, such as a birthday or the New Year.[71]

There are two problems with this hypothesis. First, it seems unlikely that the practice of sending formal written greetings was actually very common among bannermen for the simple reason that in the early Qing period most bannermen were illiterate. Even in the eighteenth century it was not unusual for high-ranking officers to have difficulty writing grammatically in Manchu (some never bothered to learn Chinese, either).[72] It is thus hard to imagine that writing skills were widely shared by ordinary bannermen in the early 1600s. Moreover, if those who could write were in the habit of sending greetings memorials, one would expect that some might have survived, or that there would be some notice of such a custom. Failing this, the idea that the palace memorial system grew out of a prior Manchu tradition must be put aside.[73]

Others have objected to Wu's hypothesis on other grounds. Chuang Chi-fa noted that the sending of greetings memorials was incumbent, not only upon Manchu bannermen, but also upon government officials, whether Manchu, Mongol, or Han Chinese. He also pointed out that sending greetings memorials was common practice in the Ming. Such documents, Chuang showed, were typically in the form of a *zouben*. This was the more personal of the two formats used for communications to the throne in the Ming; the other format, the *tiben*, was reserved for official business. A telling point in Chuang's analysis is the close similarity he found between Qing *zouzhe* and Ming *zouben*. Comparing such details as character elevation, the number of characters per line, the absence of official seals, and formalistic terminology, Chuang convincingly argued that the Ming *zouben* was the template for the Qing palace memorial. He went on to provide an alternate theory for the origin of the palace memorial system. Rather than seeing it as an accident, Chuang believed that the palace memorials resulted from the deliberate combination of semi-official *zouben* and informative *qingdan* lists, known as *zhezi*. The name *zouzhe*, he said, is literal evidence of this hybridization. He dated their origin to 1686.[74]

Chuang's case would be stronger if there were more examples of *zhezi* lists actually included with greetings memorials; the examples he provided are from a time when the use of *zouzhe* was already well established. Moreover, lists (typically of names) are hardly comparable to the types of

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[68] Bartlett, "Ch'ing Palace Memorials," 4.

[69] Bartlett, "Ch'ing Palace Memorials," 2–3; Sakurai Toshirō, "Mindai daisōhon seido no seiritsu to sono henyō," *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 51.2 (September 1992), 1–29. *Zouben* originating from outside Beijing were called *benzhang*.

[70] Spence, *Ts'ao Yin*, 226.

[71] Wu, "The Memorial Systems of the Ch'ing Dynasty," 38–41, *Communication and Control*, 36. Spence makes no claim that the sending of greetings memorials was a Manchu custom.

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[72] Cf. the 1780 case of a certain Cuwande, whose ignorance of Chinese impaired his ability to censor dramatic texts for offensive remarks against the Qing. *Da Qing gaozong chun (Qianlong) huangdi shilu* (reprint Taipei: Huawen shuju), *juan* 1118: 17b–18a. On changing levels of ability in Manchu, see the examples in Elliott, *The Manchu Way*.

[73] This is also Chuang Chi-fa's conclusion (*Qingdai zouzhe zhidu*, 23).

[74] Chuang, *Qingdai zouzhe zhidu*, 24–33.

secrets revealed in palace memorials. Similarly, the citations Chuang drew on to emphasize the distinction between plain greetings memorials and palace memorials are from a later stage of the evolution of the *zouzhe* system, when the emperor routinely instructed memorialists to discriminate between greetings memorials, memorials of thanks for imperial benevolence, and secret memorials conveying important information.

The debate, outlined above, on the origins of the palace memorial system left it unclear whether the initial evolution was, as Spence and Wu described it, a transformation of the greetings memorial, or whether, as Chuang described it, a merging, in form and substance, of *zouben*-type ritual memorials and *zhezi*-type enclosures. Though his discovery of references to *zhezi* in the *Diaries of Activity and Repose* would seem to support Chuang, Zhu Jinfu disagreed with both of the above views, claiming that the palace memorial system began in 1681, when the first such references appear. However, as he himself admitted, these *zhezi* were different in nature from later *zouzhe*, and were "open" court documents lacking the secrecy that distinguished the palace memorials.[75] An even earlier start date has been proposed by Guan Xiaolian, who argues on the basis of a passage in the *Veritable Records* that palace memorials were already in use by 1656. The passage in question is as follows:[76]

> 諭。向來科道及在京滿漢各官奏摺俱先送内院。今後悉照部例徑詣宮門陳奏。

("Edict. Heretofore *zouzhe* from supervising secretaries and censors as well as Manchu and Han officials in the capital have all been sent first to the Inner Chancellery. Henceforth, in accordance with the precedent set by the Boards, all shall be transmitted via the palace gates.") Because the original edict was almost certainly in Manchu, however, it is difficult to come to any definitive conclusions on the precise meaning of the term *zouzhe* here. Guan insists that this corresponds to the palace memorial we know from the Kangxi reign. But his argument, that the translators of the *Veritable Records* would not have been cavalier about their choice of wording, cannot entirely resolve concern on this score. Moreover, Guan's argument (also on the basis of the above passage) that by the 1650s Han Chinese as well as Manchu officials were already in the habit of sending

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[75] Zhu Jinfu, "Qingdai zouzhe zhidu kaoyuan ji qita," *Ming-Qing dang'an yu lishi yanjiu*, 520–523.

[76] Found in *Da Qing Shizu zhang (Shunzhi) huangdi shilu* (The veritable records of the Shunzhi reign), (reprint ed., Taipei: Huawen shuju, 1964), 102: 3a (SZ13.6.7).

palace memorials is unconvincing, given the absence of any such documents from this time in either language.[77]

So when did the palace memorial system begin? Given that the palace memorial was a Manchu innovation, from a purely logical standpoint it should be expected that such a crucial expansion of channels of personal communication with the emperor began, not in dealings with Chinese officials or culturally hybrid bondservants, but with Manchu officials, and in the Manchu language. Indeed, recent work has borne out this hypothesis, as over one hundred palace memorials that pre-date the Li Xu/Cao Yin series have been discovered in the Manchu holdings of the FHA (Table 8).

Table 8. Early Manchu-language palace memorials

Memorialist and post	Number of memorials	Date(s)	Location in *Kangxichao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi*	Archival location
Sanggitu 尚吉圖 Director of Palace Storehouses (Imperial Household Dept.)	1	KX12.11.29	no. 5	FHA (*Jigoubao* catalogue, packet 27)
Fiyanggu 費揚古 General Commandant of the Gendarmerie	2	KX15.1.24, K.X28.11.29[78]	nos. 6, 28	NPM (vol. 8 of *Gongzhongdang Kangxichao zouzhe*, no. 5 and FHA *jigoubao* catalogue, packet 27)

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[77] Guan. "Zailun zouzhe qiyuan ji qi tedian," 3–4. On the whole, the interpretations regarding this controversial edict advanced by Chuang Chi-fa, Ju Deyuan, and Zhu Jinfu remain persuasive. See Chuang, *Qingdai zouzhe zhidu*, 26; Ju Deyuan, "Qingdai tizou wenshu zhidu," in *Ming-Qing dang'an lunwen xuanbian* (Beijing: Dang'an chubanshe, 1985), 1004–1005; Zhu, "Qingdai zouzhe zhidu kaoyuan ji qita," 517–518. On the basis of an occurrence of the words *mifeng zouzhe* (lit., tightly sealed memorials) in a *nianpu* for the year 1661, Yang Qiqiao earlier also put forward the idea that palace memorials began in the Shunzhi era. See his important study, *Yongzheng di ji qi mizhe zhidu yanjiu* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Company, 1981), 156–157.

[78] The status of both of these items as palace memorials is open to question. The first is merely a list of measurements and there seems nothing "secret" about it. Since it is not rescripted, it should probably be considered a *zhezi*. The second item carries the seal of the Imperial Household Department Director (Fiyanggu's position at the time) and so cannot be a palace memorial, strictly speaking. Two other early Chinese-language memorials, both from 1677, though published in volume 1 of *Gongzhongdang Kangxichao zouzhe*, appear to be *zouben*, not *zouzhe*.

Table 8 (*cont.*)

Memorialist and post	Number of memorials	Date(s)	Location in *Kangxichao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi*	Archival location
Anjuhu 安珠瑚 Mukden Garrison General	2	KX18.10.22, KX18.12.17	nos. 11, 12	NPM (vol. 8 of *Gongzhongdang Kangxichao zouzhe*, nos. 10 and 12)
Tuba 圖巴, Bandi 班第, and Hailasun 漏拉遜 Departmental Directors of the Imperial Household	3	K.X24.8.29, KX26.8.8, KX30.4.17	nos. 16, 17, 44	FHA (*jigoubao* catalogue, packet 26)
Isangga 伊桑阿 Grand Secretary	11	KX28.1.27–KX28.3.4	nos. 18–27 (bilingual item of KX 28.2.27 printed only in *Kangxichao Hanwen zhupi zouzhe*)	FHA (cat. no. 508/4–92, packets 1, 19, 81–83)
Foron 佛倫 Shandong Governor, Governor-general of Sichuan & Shaanxi	82	KX28.2.29–KX33.8.27	nos. 29–43, 45–56,61–85, 88, 90, 93–96, 98–103, 107–111,115–116, 129–134, 137–142	FHA (cat. no. 508/4–92, packets 136–154)
Fulata 傅拉塔 Governor-general of Liangjiang	29	KX31.1.4–KX33.R5.12	nos. 57–60, 86–87, 89, 91–92, 97, 104–106, 112–114, 117–128, 135–136	FHA (cat. no. 508/4–92, packets 337–343)
	130			

Careful study of these documents allows us to make a few observations. First, the number of memorialists is extremely limited. Excluding fragmentary items from before 1689, significant deposits remain for only three people: Isangga, Foron, and Fulata. While it is virtually certain that other materials have been lost, it is fair to conclude that at this early point the privilege of submitting palace memorials was very likely reserved for a small elite consisting entirely of Manchu officials, who wrote in Manchu only (among the few exceptions is a 1689 bilingual memorial from Isangga). After 1693, the circle expanded to include others, such as Han bannermen, bondservants, and imperial sons. It was another ten years before ordinary Han Chinese officials were permitted to send *zouzhe.*

A second observation is that the precise nature of the earliest memorial, namely, the 1674 communication from Šanggitu, Director of Palace

Storehouses (presented in the preceding section), remains problematic. Since there is no seal on this document (which I examined in November 1999), it is clearly not a *tiben.* It is not simply a list, so it is not a *zhezi,* either. And since it came from a capital and not a provincial official, it cannot be a *benzhang.* But it is hard to say on the basis of format alone if it is a *zouben,* then, or a *zouzhe.* Given that the memorial originated within the Imperial Household Department, the chances that it was sent circuitously via the Transmission Office—which was the normal route for *zouben*—are slim; more likely it never left the palace precincts and was sent directly to the emperor, in which case we are justified in calling it a *zouzhe.* Yet its content is nothing like what one would expect from a *zouzhe.* Rather than a wish for good health or a discussion of state secrets, we find here instead an updated inventory of palace stores: ermine pelts, silver ingots, wash basins, censers, and heaters. Why would the emperor have been interested in this kind of apparently mundane information? Were such reports delivered on a regular basis? If so, then beginning when? Why are there not more of them? One also cannot help wondering why the Šanggitu memorial, if indeed it was a *zouzhe,* was not bundled with other palace memorials for storage (it is filed together with *tiben* and greetings memorials from the Kangxi period as well as miscellaneous sacrificial texts from the Qianlong reign). For these reasons, it is difficult to classify this anomalous document with certainty. Its identification as a palace memorial must be tentative, and awaits the emergence of other, similar documents from the archives.

One thing that the Šanggitu memorial and the other early memorials can confirm, however, is that the practice of sending direct personal reports to the emperor probably arose first in the Imperial Household Department, where four of the first eight memorials originated. From there it spread to other branches of the government, including officials in the capital (e.g., grand secretaries and board presidents) and the provinces (e.g., governors-general, governors, and garrison generals). It is therefore probably *not* the case that the palace memorial system began as a way for the emperor to keep himself informed about developments outside Beijing, but as a way to keep himself informed, period. This impression is strengthened when we look at the eleven memorials of Isangga.[79] All of these were sent between mid-February and late March of 1689, during the second Southern Tour, suggesting that the emperor relied on this type of communication at least as much for news of the situation at home, in Beijing, as for news of the situation abroad, in the provinces. This is plain from the first of these messages, dated 17 February 1689 (KX28.1.27):

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[79] Little is known about Isangga. A Manchu of the Plain Yellow Banner, he won the *jinshi* degree in 1655 and served as president of the Board of Rites before being named grand secretary in 1688, a position he held until his death in 1702.

> Grand Secretary Isangga respectfully memorializing.
>
> Reporting matter: It has been heard in the capital that the people from several hundred places around Shandong province all came through the night to greet my lord.
>
> An edict was issued forgiving Shandong next year's tax payments. The entire people of the province have only heard that of old Yao and Shun were good kings, but who has seen them? Having now been blessed by magnificent favor, they looked up to behold [your] divine visage.
>
> Those people who sell things alongside the road all did much better business than usual. They are elated, saying that my lord has surpassed Yao and Shun. When the officials and people in the capital heard of my lord's wondrous act, there were also none who were not overjoyed.
>
> At this year's lantern festival the people, as usual, have fallen to careless setting of firecrackers. In obedience to the edict of his imperial father ordering that the roads and streets be guarded in advance and a watch be kept for fire, the crown prince has also issued an edict and every road and street was guarded. There were no incidents of fire or theft. On these matters, I respectfully inform and report.
>
> Twenty-seventh day of the first month of the twenty-eighth year of "Universal Peace." Isangga, Grand Secretary.
>
> (Rescript) Acknowledged.[80]

Perhaps the reassurance he derived from memorials such as these prompted the emperor to encourage other officials to submit palace memorials, for soon afterward the number of memorials seems to have increased (at least, a greater number has been preserved). Shandong

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[80] Original text: *aliha bithei da. amban isangga-i gingguleme wesimburengge. donjibume wesimbure jalin. ging hecen de donjihangge. šandung-ni goloi ududu tanggū ba-i irgen. gemu dobori dulime jifi. ejen be okdoko... šundung- ni goloi ishun aniyai ciyanliyang be guwebuhe seme hese wasimbuha... goloi gubci irgen. gemu julge yoo šun be sain han seme donjiha dabala. we sabuha bi... te ferguwecuke kesi be aliha bime. abkai cira be bahafi hargašaha... jugūn-i unduri uncara jaka irgen-i an-i hūda ci gemu fulu baha. ejen. yoo šun ci dulekebi seme urgunjendumbi seme donjiha... ejen-i ferguwecuke yabun be. ging hecen de bisire hafan irgen donjifi inu urgunjerakūngge akū... ere aniya hacin-i ucuri irgen an-i poo ciralakū sindame efiyehe... dele genere de. jugūn giya be cirala. tuwa-i baita be seremše seme hese wasimbure. hūwang taidz. han ama-i tacibuha hese be dahame. geli hese wasimbure jakade. jugūn giya be teisu teisu ciralame seremšehebi... tuwa. hūlhai baita akū. erei jalin gingguleme donjibume wesimbuhe... elhe taifin-i orin jakūci aniya. aniya biyai orin nadan de. aliha bithei da. amban isangga.* Rescript: *saha.* From FHA, *Kangxi chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe* packet 83, Yi-sang-a/neizheng/liyi, KX28.1.27. The emperor's rescript was written on the front of the memorial.

governor (later governor-general of Sichuan/Shaanxi) Foron also seems to have commenced writing palace memorials during the second Southern Tour, with Governor-general Fulata following just a few years afterward. It was around this point that Li Xu and, later, Cao Yin were cut in on the act.

Despite their early date, it seems unlikely that Isangga's were among the first palace memorials. For one thing, their form is completely standardized: they are all the same size, with the same number of columns per fold, and without seals. Furthermore, if Isangga were acting in accordance with a specific imperial directive to write him personally, one would expect some reference to that in the text of his memorials; yet none is found. And what of the emperor's responses? Fully eight of Isangga's eleven memorials are laconically rescripted, "Acknowledged." If these had been the first memorials of their kind, one could reasonably expect the emperor to have responded at greater length, to have expressed surprise ("What sort of communication is *this*?!") or approbation ("It is good that you are obeying my instructions"), perhaps with the addition of further directions. The blasé one-word imperial reply suggests that the exchange of private memorials between Manchu officials and the emperor was already routinized by 1689, and that Isangga's notes simply received the "usual" treatment. This, plus their regular appearance, tends to confirm Chuang Chi-fa's idea that palace memorials were adaptations of greetings memorials that were already being used for the unofficial transmission of miscellaneous information. The existence of prior documents, such as Šanggitu's 1674 memorial, which are very similar in appearance to Isangga's, demonstrates, however, that the process of adaptation began ten years earlier than Chuang imagined.

The 1679–1681 exchange between the emperor and Mukden garrison general Anjuhū seems particularly important in this regard. This exchange as it has come down to us consists of seven documents: five edicts and two palace memorials.[81] The first edict, dated 15 February 1679 (KX18.1.5), deals with Eight Banner personnel and was delivered by the emperor's messenger together with what was called an "oral edict" (Ch. *kou-chuan*, Ma. *anggai hese*). The second edict was sent on 22 October 1679 (KX 18.9.18), ordering Anjuhū to investigate the presence of gold, silver, copper, tin, and lead ores in the Mukden region and the viability of beginning mining operations. This document is full of language emphasizing its unusual nature and the importance of secrecy: The emperor first noted that he has "secretly decreed" (*narhūšame wasimbuha*) this response, as the previous memorial (which we do not have) sent by Anjuhū was not marked with a seal, so he could not rescript it and send it back out. After mentioning that he had heard about the possibility of valuable metals in Mukden, he ordered the general to "secretly investigate" (*narhūšame fujurulame*) and write back with his recommendation. The emperor ended this edict with the words, "by special decree" (*cohome wasimbuha*).

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[81] All of these documents are in the NPM facsimile volume (nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15); the Chinese translations (nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15) are in the FHA volume of Kangxi Manchu memorials.

Anjuhū's response came a month or so later, on 24 November 1679 (KX18.10.22). Making liberal use of the same verb, *narhūšambi*,[82] Anjuhū also emphasized the secrecy of the communication, in reply, he said, to the oral edict transmitted to him on the twenty-third day of the ninth month (27 October 1679). From this we learn that the emperor's edict was brought by special messenger (in this case, a scribe named Farsa) to Mukden—a good indication that the entire exchange took place on an improvised basis. The emperor did not rescript this memorial, but chose to respond in a separate edict (KX18.11.10/12 December 1679), instructing Anjuhū to share everything he knew about mineral deposits with the Jilin garrison general—secretly, of course. After about one month, on 18 January 1680 (KX18.12.17), Anjuhū wrote again to the emperor, not about mining issues this time, but on a matter of Eight Banner administration. First quoting an edict he received several months earlier—again, by oral transmission, and again, stressing its secret nature—Anjuhū explained the actions he had taken in response, closing with the words, "secretly and reverently memorialized." This memorial carries two rescripts on the back, one in black and one in red.[83] The black rescript ordered the memorial returned to the sender; the red rescript added that an edict was to be returned with it at the same time, and that the son of the bondservant

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[82] *Narhūšambi* can also mean "to do finely, exhaustively," which is how the FHA translators have generally chosen to understand it. However, from the context (and from Anjuhū's fears that people might get wind of his inquiries), the sense here definitely seems to be that everything be done, not minutely, but secretly.

[83] It seems likely that only one of these "rescripts" was actually a rescript. It was unheard of for the emperor to rescript the same memorial using two different colors. As already noted, black was used only in mourning, at which time red could not be used. Thus either the two rescripts were made on separate occasions (one falling during a mourning period and one outside it), or the red rescript is the emperor's and someone else wrote the other comment in black. On this point I have benefited especially from discussions with Beatrice Bartlett.

Guwamboo, Tabku, should take it with him to Anjuhū, who was to "open it with his own hands and read it" (*galai neifi tuwa*). What this edict was we do not know, but we can confirm that these communications continued to be carried back and forth by personal messengers.

The last items in the exchange were also edicts. The first of these (KX20.12.8/16 January 1682) noted that, with the pacification of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories, the empire was restored to peace and the emperor wished to visit the tombs of his ancestors in Mukden, regarding which he desired Anjuhū's special assistance:

> You [Anjuhū]: Secretly appoint garrison lieutenant general Mudai and some good, capable adjutants to thoroughly explore the routes to be taken, the places to camp, and the places we should go, including the road connecting Fe Ala and Ula. Have them draw a map and then choose one of the accompanying adjutants—let him be a bright fellow—and send him to the capital to deliver it.

The emperor went on to say that he would be making an official announcement once things were all decided, he did not want news of the trip to leak in advance: "Therefore I am sending this edict especially, and very secretly" (*cohome umesi narhūšame hese wasimbuha*). He then ended on a personal note: "How are you, general?" (*jiyanggiyūn-i beye saiyūn*).[84] A couple of months later, in the last extant edict to Anjuhū (KX21.2.2/10 March 1682), the emperor was similarly blunt, brief, and secretive:

> Edict to General Anjuhū. I have read what you wrote, item by item. While there is much to what you say, now that Yunnan has been pacified, it will not do to delay for long the day that this great good [news] is passed [along] through a major sacrifice. We here have looked into everything, and it has been decided that we leave on the fifteenth day of the second month. Apart from this, the other things I want to tell you I have passed in an oral edict to the person who came with your memorial.[85]

The consistent emphasis on secrecy, the use of private messengers, the lack of seals, the quick rescript, and the intimate query concerning Anjuhū's health all characterize this exchange of messages as part of a separate, informal communications network. Though it is premature to label this network a "system" at this early date, nonetheless, the reliance here on *zouzhe* for the confidental transmission of information to and from the throne indicates that the evolution of the palace memorial began at least by the second half of the 1670s. Anjuhū's memorials, which are roughly similar in format to Šanggitu's 1674 memorial, would seem to belong to a transitional phase and suggest some of the steps in the development of this type of correspondence. For instance, there is the apparent hesitation on the part of the emperor to rescript *zouzhe*, as seen in his 1679 comment that because a memorial bore no seal he could not write on it and would therefore send a separate edict. But only a few months later, the emperor dispensed with formalities and responded directly on the memorial—an important step in making *zouzhe* personal, efficient, and confidential, since otherwise edicts were normally drafted in the Grand Secretariat. Another hint lies in the repeated remarks on the delivery of oral edicts from the emperor. These confirm the belief that the palace memorial began in the Imperial Household Department, but also suggest specifically that these beginnings involved not just informal written reports, but also commands so confidential it was preferable to commit them only to the memory of a trusted intermediary and not to paper.

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[84] Transcribed from the text in *Gongzhongdang Kangxi chao zouzhe*, vol. 8, no. 14.

[85] Transcribed from the text in *Gongzhongdang Kangxi chao zouzhe*, vol. 8, no. 15.

Circumventing the formal transmissions apparatus in these ways might not have been seen as a serious breach of process if the matter at hand concerned affairs of the imperial household, and fit also the Kangxi emperor's preference for direct action. At the same time, while these in-house shortcuts were easily adapted to keep any matter (such as mineral deposits) secret from the bureaucracy at large, the inefficiency of a large-scale oral network no doubt soon became apparent. At some point, even the most secret information had to be written down if it was at all detailed, and messengers' memories may not always have been reliable. This would explain why the use of oral edicts is not widely observed later in the Kangxi reign, and why secret written communications—i.e., *zouzhe*—gradually took their place, eventually becoming the preferred channel for transmitting sensitive information around the empire.

Of course, even these early documents cannot finally settle the question of a precise date for the establishment of the palace memorial system. Quite likely there is none. Thus, until Chinese-language palace memorials from before 1693 turn up, it seems most sensible to assume that the habit of sending *zouzhe* began gradually, in Manchu, among a few of the emperor's intimates, in the 1670s and 1680s.[86] By the early 1690s, once its utility had been recognized and a larger circle of officials (still mostly Manchus) had started sending them, the palace memorial network became steadily

more regularized and regulated. This initial evolution culminated in the Yongzheng emperor's 1722 decree that officials must return all rescripted *zouzhe* in their possession to the palace at the end of every year. Only then can it be said that a palace memorial *system* came into existence.[87] The absence of such a requirement under the Kangxi emperor is a good sign that the palace memorial continued until then to be viewed as an informal tool for the exchange of confidences and was still not seen as belonging to the normal chain of communications for government business. It is also one reason that many Kangxi-period *zouzhe*, Manchu- as well as Chinese-language, were lost, making the effort to understand its origins that much more difficult.

Conclusion

The study of Qing history barely counted as an area of expertise in traditional Sinology. Its remarkable development during the second half of the twentieth century depended to a great degree on the availability of published materials (facsimile and typeset) in Chinese. The increasing accessibility of unpublished archives—beginning in Taiwan around 1970 and in Beijing around 1980—has advanced research even further. In the process, the archives have changed the way that many historians work and think. Nowhere is this more evident than in the attitude toward Manchu-language documents. Once assumed to be relevant only for work on the pre-conquest era, the opening of the archives has made it clear how important Manchu materials are to scholarship on the entire Qing period. Where it was previously believed that Manchu documents merely duplicated what was already written in Chinese, we now know that Manchu archives are an important complement to the Chinese archives. Indeed, for research on some subjects—notably the frontier, military history, pre-nineteenth-century foreign affairs, Manchu history and the Eight Banners, and the imperial household—it is becoming apparent that Manchu archives are indispensable. Apart from this, because Manchu materials constitute (according to the best figures we have at present) as much as 15–20% of the total Qing archival deposit, one cannot rule out the usefulness of Manchu documents on just about any topic, particularly for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

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[86] This was Guan Xiaolian's conclusion, too, in 1994. See Guan, "Qing Kangxi chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe chuyi," 90. A year later, as described earlier, he had revised his opinion in favor of a 1656 start date.

[87] See the similar judgment of Yang Qiqiao (*Yongzheng di*, 158). The edict, dated 29 December 1722, was issued two weeks after the Yongzheng emperor ascended the throne; it is cited in Yang, *Yongzheng di*, 162, and Guan, "Zailun zouzhe qiyuan ji qi tedian," 10.

Needless to say, excellent research can still be done on the Qing, as it has been in the past, without reference to Manchu documents. But as intellectual agendas shift, scholars will find it harder to avoid the Manchu archives if they wish to recognize the different voice in which these sources speak. Only in this way will the new explanations and problems we raise be convincing; only in this way can Qing policies and institutions be contextualized fully. For the light they shed on the earliest phase of development of the palace memorial system, the memorials of Šanggitu, Anjuhū, and Isangga are a good illustration of this principle. Not only did palace memorials begin much earlier than previously suspected, but they began for a different reason—to keep the emperor apprised of developments in the palace *and* the capital—among a different set of people—Manchu officials, not bondservants. The one common point shared with earlier hypotheses is that it seems very likely that the system arose initially in communications with the imperial household. Future research in the Manchu archives, in particular those of the Imperial Household Department, may turn up more evidence to support this conclusion and further demonstrate the gains to be had by using languages other than Chinese to approach the history of the Qing period.

Glossary 1. Titles of Published Works Mentioned in the Text

Baqi tongzhi chuji	八旗通志初集
Chongde sannian dang	崇德三年檔
Dalian tushuguan cang Qingdai neige daku sandie manwen dang'an xuanbian	大連圖書館藏清代內閣大庫散佚滿文檔案選編
Fuyuan dajiangjun Yunti zougao	撫遠大將軍允褆奏稿
Gongzhongdang Kangxi chao zouzhe	宮中檔康熙朝奏摺
Gongzhongdang Qianlong chao zouzhe	宮中檔乾隆朝奏摺
Gongzhongdang Yongzheng chao zouzhe	宮中檔雍正朝奏摺
Guanyu Jiangning zhizao Caojia dang'an shiliao	關於江寧製造曹家擋案史料
Gugong bowuyuan yuankan	故宮博物院院刊
Gugong Taiwan shiliao gaishu	故宮台灣史料概述
Gugong wenxian	故宮文獻
Guoli Gugong bowuyuan diancang Dazangjing Manwen yiben yanjiu	國立故宮博物院典藏大藏經滿文譯本研究
Jilin gongpin	吉林貝品
Jiu Manzhou dang	舊滿洲檔
Jōkōkitō: Kenryūchō 1	鑲紅旗檔: 乾陸朝$_1$
Jōkōkitō: Kenryūchō 2	鑲紅旗擋: 乾隆朝$_2$
Jōkōkitō: Yōseichō	讓紅旗檔: 雍正朝
Kangxi chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi	康熙朝滿文朱批奏摺全譯
Kangxi tongyi Taiwan dang'an shiliao xuanji	康熙統一台陴檔案史料選集
Lishi dang'an	歷史檔案
Man-Han Yiyulu jiaozhu	滿漢異語錄校注
Man-Hanwen Dizang pusa benyuan jing jiaozhu	滿漢文地蔵菩薩本願經校注
Manwen laodang (Manbun rōtō)	滿文老檔
Manwen Qing benji yanjiu	滿文清本紀研究
Manwen Qing shilu yanjiu	滞文清實錄研究
Manwen Tu-er-hu-te dang'an	滿文土爾扈特檔案
Manxue yanjiu	滿學研究
Manzhou dang'an ziliao	滿洲擋案資料
Manzokushi kenyu tsushin	滿族史研究通信
Manzu yanjiu	滿族研究
Minzu yanjiu	民族研究
Nian Gengyao Man-Han zouzhe yibian	年羹堯滿漢奏揹繹編
Nian Gengyao zouzhe zhuanji	年羹堯奏摺專輯
Qing Yongzheng chao xianghongqidang	清雍正朝鑲红旗檔
Qingchu neiguoshiyuan Manwen dang'an yibian	清初內國史院滿文檔案譯編
Qingdai dang'an shiliao congbian	清代檔案史料叢編
Qingdai Heilongjiang lishi dang'an xuanbian	清代黑龍江歷史檔案選編
Qingdai Sanxing fudutong yamen Man-Han dang'an xuanbian	清代三姓副都統衙門滞漢擋案選編
Qingdai xiqian Xinjiang Cha-ha-er Menggu Manwen dang'an yibian	清代西遷新疆察哈爾蒙古滿文檔案譯編
Qingdai Zhong-E guanxi dang'an shiliao xuanbian	清代中俄關係檔案史料選编
Qingdai Zhun-ga-er shiliao chubian	清代準噶爾史料初编
Qingshi ziliao	清史资料
Sanxing fudutong yamen Manwen dang'an xuanbian	三姓副都统衙門满文権案譯编
Shengjing Manwen dang'anzhong de lü ling ji shaoshu minzu falü	盛京滿文檔案中的律令及少数民族法律
Shengjing neiwufu liangzhuang dang'an huibian	盛京內務府糧莊檔案匯編
Shengjing xingbu yuandang	盛京刑部原檔
Shunzhi nianjian dang	順治年間檔
Suijun xingji yizhu	随軍行紀譯注
Sun Wencheng zouzhe	孫文成奏摺
Xibozu dang'an shiliao	錫伯族檔案史料

Xie Sui "Zhigong tu" Manwen tushuo jiaozhu	謝遂職貢圓滿文圓說校注
Yong-Qian liang chao xianghongqidang	雍乾兩朝鑲紅旗擋
Yongzheng chao Man-Han hebi zouzhe jiaozhu	雍正钥滿漢合璧奏摺校注
Yongzheng chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi	雍正朝滿文朱批奏摺全譯
Youguan Da-hu-er E-lun-chun yu Suo-lun zu lishi ziliao	有關達呼爾鄂倫春與索倫族歷史資料
Yuan yilai Xizang difang yu zhongyang zhengfu guanxi dang'an shiliao huibian	元以來西藏地方與中央政府關係擋案史料匯編
Zaoqi Zhong-E dongduan bianjie yanjiu	早期中俄東段邊界研究
Zheng Chenggong dang'an shiliao xuanji	鄭成功檔案史料選輯
Zheng Chenggong Manwen dang'an shiliao xuanyi	鄭成功滿文檔案史料選譯

Glossary 2. Names and Types of Archives and Catalogues

Baqi shixipu dang	八旗世襲譜檔
benzhang	本章
gaodang	稿檔
Gongzhong Manwen zadang mulu	宮中消文雜檔目錄
Gongzhong Manwen zajian mulu	宮中滿文雜件目錄
Gongzhong Manwen zhupi zouzhe caomu	宮中滿文朱批奏摺草目
Gongzhong Manwen zhupi zouzhe dengji mulu	宮中滿文朱批奏揞登記目錄
hei-tu dang	黑圖檔
huangce	黃冊
hukouce	戶口冊
jice	祭册
jixin dang	寄信檔
Junjichu Manwen dangbu mulu	軍機處滿文檔簿目録
Kangxi chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe jigoubao mulu	康熙朝滿文朱批奏摺機構包目録
lichao baqi zadang	歷朝八旗雜檔
lufu zouzhe	錄副奏摺
Man[wen] piaoqian dang	满 (文) 票籤檔
Manwen zouchi	浦文奏敕
Menggutang dang	荣古堂檔
miben dang	密本檔
Mishuyuan dang	铋書院檔
Neige tiben	內閣題本
Neiguoshiyuan dang	內國史院檔
piaoqian	票籤
qiansanchao tiben	前三朝題本

qijuzhu	起居注
qing'an zhe	請安摺
qingdan	清單
Qingwen zadang	清文雜檔
qingzhe dang	清摺檔
riji dang	目記檔
Sanxing fudutong yamen dang	三姓副都統衙門檔
shangyu dang	上諭檔
Shengjing jiangjun yamen dang	盛京將軍衙門檔
Shengjing libu dang	盛京禮部檔
shishu	史書
Shuangchengpu dang	雙城堡檔
silunbu	搗胡茂
suishou dengji	隨手登記
tiben	題本
tiehuang	帖黃
yifu dang	議復擋
Yongzheng chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe fenlei lijuan mulu	雍正朝滿文朱批奏摺分類立卷目録
yuezhe bao	月摺包
yuezhe dang	月摺檔
zhezi	褶子
zouben	奏本
zouxiaodang	奏銷檔
zouzhe	奏摺

Glossary 3. Other Terms and Phrases

bao	包
Baqi dutong yamen	八旗都統衙門
bulai	部來
buxing	部行
Cao Yin	曹寅
chonfu	重復
Cisinu	齊世武
Da Qing Huidian	大清會典
Da Qing lichao shilu	大清歷朝實錄
fanglüe	方略
gongzhong	宮中
Guanglu si	光様寺
ha-ha zhu-sai	哈哈珠塞
ha-ha zhu-zi	哈哈珠子
hebi	合璧
jian	件
jinglai	京來

jingxing	京行
Junjichu	草機處
ke	科
Li Xu	李响
Lifanyuan	理藩院
liubu	六部
Menggutang	蒙古堂
mifeng zouzhe	密封奏摺
Neige	内閣
Neimishuyuan	内祕書院
quanzong	全宗
renming bao	人名包
shengxun	聖訓
shiba da lei	十八大類
shi-er zitou	十二字頭
Taichang si	太常寺
taitou	抬頭
"tongyi de duominzu guojia"	統一的多民族國家
Tongzheng si	通政司
wanquan yizhi	完全一致
"wu chaonong Hanren, yi jia jinshen"	無嘲弄漢人, 益加謹慎
xiangtong	相同
xiunü	秀女
yao tilu	腰提爐
yileijia	一類甲
zhen	朕
zhidaoliao	知道了
Zongrenfu	宗人府
zoushi chu	奏事處
zuoling	佐領

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SINO-MANCHU TRANSLATIONS AT THE MUKDEN COURT

Stephen Durrant

The translation of Chinese classics into the Manchu language is often seen as an important agent in the sinincization of the Manchus. However, the Confucian classics were not the first Chinese books to appear in Manchu translation. Rather, the texts translated by Dahai, the first great translator of Chinese texts, are a varied and somewhat unusual group. The present article examines these texts and suggests a rationale for their translation.

Sinicization of the Manchus began long before their 1644 conquest of Peking. The sources of sinicization are complex. In addition to direct preconquest contact between Manchus and Chinese which led to the Manchu adoption of Chinese military titles, employment of Chinese in Manchuria, a distinctively Chinese idea of the importance and technique of historical writing, etc.,[1] it is now clear that many Chinese features of Manchu culture came by way of the Mongols as a part of a general and longstanding sinitic influence along the inner Asian frontier of China.[2] It is also probable that the Jurchen ancestors of the Manchus who once ruled northern China themselves and became thoroughly sinicized also conveyed to their descendants a number of Chinese ideas and institutions.[3]

Whatever the sources of sinicization in Manchuria, Hong Taiji[4] (rd. 1627–1644) and his successors "retained an ambivalent attitude toward Chinese culture."[5] This ambivalence is illustrated by two entries from the same year in the "Old Manchu Annals."[6] According to the first of these, dated as the sixth day of the eighth lunar month of the tenth year of Hong Taiji (September 4, 1636), the Manchu ruler sent his loyal Chinese minister Fan Wench'eng[a] to offer the following prayer before the spirit tablet of Confucius:[7]

> The teacher's virtue has brought heaven and earth into harmony; his doctrine has overspread antiquity and modernity. Supplementing and editing the Six Classics, he formed books and brought order to ten thousand generations.[8]

At the conclusion of this prayer, sacrifices were offered not just to the master himself, but also to his disciples Yen-tzu, Tseng-tzu, and Tzu-ssu,[b] as well as to the famous Confucian Mencius.

The second entry comes from just three months later, the thirteenth day of the eleventh lunar month (December 8). On that day, Hong Taiji gathered together the imperial family and high government officials to report on his reading of the recently translated "Chin History" (*Chin shih*[c]):

> From the time I had this book translated into Manchu and read it, my eyes and ears have become clear, like a horse that has seen a beast and raises its ears ready to run. I praise it without restraint. When we examine the regulations of this book, we discover that the old way established by T'ai-tsu Aguda (1115–1123) and T'ai-tsung Ukinai (1123–1135), after having reached to Hsi-tsung Hola (1135–1149) and Wan-yen Liang (1149–1161) was completely rejected. Indulging in wine, lusts and pleasures, they followed the way of China. When we come to Shih-tsung Ulu (1161–1189), fearing lest his sons and grandsons enter upon the way of China, he repeatedly said, "Do not forget the old ways of your ancestors. Wear the clothing of the Jurchen, learn the Jurchen language and practice archery constantly."[9]

Not only do these two passages show the tension between the drift toward increasing sinicization and the desire to preserve Manchu self-identity, but they also point to issues which must play a critical role in the analysis of that tension. Thus, speaking of the Ch'ing period as a whole, Ho Ping-ti refers to the "unprecedented homage that the Ch'ing emperors paid to Confucius ... designing and maintaining of the strictest education for imperial princes in Chinese history based largely on orthodox Confucianism" and adds further that "by the latter half of the eighteenth century the imperially exhorted Manchu nativism had boiled down to little more than a legal obligation on the part of imperial princes and Manchu examination candidates to practice horsemanship and archery and to study the Manchu language."[10]

The translation of the Chinese Confucian classics into Manchu is often seen as a primary agent of sinicization.[11] Early in the reign of Hong Taiji at Mukden (1627–1644),[12] memorials were submitted encouraging the translation of Confucian texts. The earliest of these was presented by Wang Wen-k'uei[d] in the ninth lunar month of the sixth year of Hong Taiji (October 14–November 11, 1632). Wang argued that "the subtle principles of the doctrine by which an emperor governs and pacifies are recorded in the *Ssu shu*[e] "Four Books"." He suggested that capable scholars be chosen to translate these classics, "daily presenting two paragraphs."[13] The following year an official called by his pseudonym Ning-wan-wo[f] ("I'd rather perfect myself") also urged the translation of Confucian texts such as *Lunyü*[g] "Analects". *Hsiao-ching*[h] "Classic of Filial Piety", and *Ta-hsüeh*[i] "Great Learning" because they contain "the doctrine for rectifying one's heart, cultivating oneself, putting in order one's family and governing the state."[14]

Despite these pious recommendations, the Confucian classics were not the first texts to be translated into Manchu, and the view that they were quickly translated so as to facilitate and hasten sinicization oversimplifies the possible motives behind Sino-Manchu translations, particularly during the reign of Hong Taiji. It is one of the purposes of this paper to present information which will enable a more accurate and complete appraisal of the relationship between early translations and sinicization.

A small piece of evidence indicates that our list of early Sino-Manchu translations is incomplete. In 1652 Asitan, a Manchu official and translator who was famous for his Confucian orthodoxy,[15] requested of the throne that "all miscellaneous and indecent works be prohibited and no longer translated."[16] However, an examination of the titles of works translated previous to this utterance in 1652 reveals only one work that a strict Confucian would likely brand "indecent," and that is the famous novel *Sankuo yen-i*[j] "Romance of the Three Kingdoms," a Manchu translation of which appeared in 1650. Asitan's petition leads one to suspect that other novels or popular works had been translated by that time, but since such efforts were presumably unofficial, no record of them remains.[17]

The first great Manchu translator of whom we have record was Dahai. His biography portrays him as a prodigy who could read and write both Manchu and Chinese by the age of eight. Moreover, from the time of Nurhaci, "all correspondence with the Ming court and Korea came from his hand."[18] He served the government throughout his life and died in 1632 at the young age of thirty-seven. On the occasion of his death, the emperor issued an edict which said in part, "Our ancestor T'ai-tsu[k] was granted brilliance by heaven, and, relying upon his understanding, established the dynasty. All that he did harmonized completely with the sages of antiquity. Dahai and Erdeni were born in response to the times and truly aided in the cultured government of our era."[19] Despite this lavish praise, Dahai is criticized by Abahai elsewhere in the "Veritable Records" for his excessive attachment to Chinese culture.[20]

In the area of Manchu studies, Dahai is best known for his reformation of the Manchu script.[21] In addition to this contribution, he also left completed translations of four Chinese works and partial translations of five others. At least three of the four texts which Dahai finished were translated by direct order of Nurhaci.[22] Since the Manchu ruler had the entire sweep of Chinese literature from which to choose texts for translation, his choices are of considerable interest and should be discussed in some detail.

Two of the three works which Nurhaci commissioned Dahai to translate, *Su shu*[l] and *San-lüeh*[m], have been classified by traditional Chinese bibliographers as books on military strategy (Chin. *ping-chia*[n]). Justifying the Manchu interest in these two books, Li Hsüeh-chih says such translations were "a necessity in that time of war against the Ming."[23] However, a reading of *Su shu* and *San-lüeh* discloses that they are largely concerned with general principles of morality or political leadership and contain little specific information on military strategy. A Manchu using these books as a guide to the maneuvers and tactics of a Chinese army would find little help. Other possible motives for their translation can be found if we examine them a bit more closely.

The first, *Su shu*, is a short book of maxims attributed to a mysterious and rather romantic figure from the 3rd Century BC by the name of Duke Yellowstone (*Huang-shih kung*[o]). The *Shih chi* of Ssu-ma Ch'ien describes a strange meeting between Duke Yellowstone, "an old man wearing a coarse gown," and Chang Liang,[p] the famous advisor to Liu Pang,[q] the eventual founder of the Han Dynasty. After ascertaining Chang Liang's worthiness, Duke Yellowstone gave him a book on military strategy which Chang constantly studied and used as the basis of his advice to Liu Pang.[24] Like many other mysterious figures in Chinese literature, Yellowstone was appropriated by Taoist hagiographers, and *Su shu* was thereby included in the Taoist Canon. Despite references to a work by the title of *Su shu* in early Taoist literature, the extant text is considered a forgery from the T'ang or Sung periods.[25]

The maxims found in this work give a general and somewhat eclectic representation of the Chinese world-view. Thoroughly typical are such statements as, "The Way, power, benevolence, rightness and ritual are of a single form;"[26] "Wide study and incisive questioning are the means to broaden knowledge;"[27] and "If warriors are poor while wandering scholars are rich, the state will decline."[28] The description of this text as "eclectic" is supported by these sample sayings: the first sounds Taoist, the second Confucian and the third Legalist.[29]

The second text, *San-lüeh*, is also attributed to Duke Yellowstone. While it is first listed in the bibliographic section of the *Sui History* and is therefore at least as early as the Six Dynasties Period (222–589), it probably is not a product of the Han Dynasty (206 BC–221 AD).[30] Although most of this book contains ethical and political advice, it does have sections dealing directly with military leadership, but emphasizing the preservation of morale more than specific military strategy. The following passage is representative of its content:

> In ancient times when a skilled general was guiding troops, if someone sent a flask of wine, he would cause that it be thrown into the river and would then drink of the water of the same river with his troops. One flask of wine cannot impart taste to an entire river, but the reason that the troops of the three armies were willing to die for him was that he shared good tastes and flavors with them.[31]

Thus, the motive for translating these two works could hardly have been a desire for a precise knowledge of Chinese war strategies. Rather, the translations were apparently motivated by a wish to understand and emulate Chinese ethical and political principles. However, an even more subtle reason for their translation can be seen if we expand our consideration to a third text, *Liu-t'ao*[r], which was among the translations left unfinished by Dahai.

Liu-t'ao is traditionally attributed to Lü Wang,[s] sometimes called simply the Grand Duke (*t'ai-kung*[t]). According to tradition, Hsi Po,[u] the future King Wen and father of the Chou Dynasty, encountered Lü on the banks of the Wei River. Previously Lü had heard a prophecy regarding the eventual rise of the Chou Dynasty and at first glance recognized Hsi Po as the one who would fulfill the prophecy. After they had talked together for some time, Hsi Po was so impressed that he made Lü Wang his Grand Master.[32]

Although *Liu-t'ao* does not come from the early Chou period, some critics date it as early as the Han Dynasty.[33] Unlike the two books considered above, it contains a great deal of specific advice on military strategy and could have been translated partially for purposes of military intelligence. Later, the Manchus, like their Jurchen ancestors before them, showed great interest in the translation of Chinese military texts.[34]

The more subtle motive for the translation of these three works can be seen in the fact that the first two were presumably written by a man whose advice brought the Han Dynasty to power while the third book is attributed to an advisor who prepared the Chou for the conquest of the Shang. All three texts were associated with a rising power on the eve of its conquest, and the Mukden rulers might have gained a particular interest in them by a perceived, and at that time desired, analogy between the earlier pre-conquest powers and themselves.

The third book which Nurhaci ordered Dahai to translate is given in the "Veritable Records" as the *Hsing-pu hui-tien*[v]. This has been convincingly identified by Fuchs as the *Ming hui-tien lü-li*[w] "The Penal Statutes of the Ming Legal Code".[35] The reason for Manchu interest in this work is obvious. Finding themselves increasingly involved in the Chinese world, the Manchus felt a need to understand the Chinese legal system, and translation of the legal code of the reigning dynasty was a logical place to begin.

The fourth translation which Dahai completed, although it is not mentioned as having been ordered by Nurhaci, is entitled *Wan-pao ch'üan-shu*.[x] This small compendium of knowledge is attributed to Ch'en Chi-ju[y] (1558–1639), an influential Chinese writer and editor who was an older contemporary of Dahai.[36] The *Wan-pao ch'üan-shu* contains twenty chapters on such topics as "Celestial Patterns" (*t'ien-wen*[z]), "Barbarians" (*chu-yi*[aa]) and "Humorous Anecdotes" (*hsiao-hua*[ab]). The organization is entirely that of a traditional Chinese encylopedia (*lei-shu*[ac]).[37] The choice of this text gives evidence of a desire to gain understanding of the Chinese world through short digests rather than beginning with a wholesale translation of the classics.

In addition to *Liu-t'ao*, which we have already discussed, Dahai left incomplete translations of four other works. One of these is referred to as *Ta-ch'eng ching*[ad], which literally means "Mahayana Sutra." Since this is a generic term for all sutras of the Mahayana school, it is not certain what text is meant by this notice.[38] The partial translation of this Buddhist sutra, whatever it may have been, gives further proof of the interest in Buddism among the early Manchu emperors.[39]

The other three works left unfinished by Dahai are much more ambitious projects. Since the "Veritable Records" refers to the first of these as *T'ung-chien*[ae], Laufer identified it with the famous *Tzu-chic t'ung-chien kang-mu*[af], a comprehensive history of China by the great Sung scholar Chu Hsi[ag].[40] However, Fuchs, following Li Te-ch'i[ah],[41] has shown that Chu Hsi's work was first translated in 1691; the *T'ung-chien* left by Dahai was really the *Kang-chien hui-tsuan* by the Ming scholar Wang Shih-chen[ai] (1526–1590).[42] The translation of this work was first completed and printed in 1664. It is a large and comprehensive history of China from its beginnings up to the conquest of the Ming in 1368.[43]

The second and third of these more ambitious projects were *Mencius* and *San-kuo chih*[aj]. It is noteworthy that none of the Confucian "Four Books" or "Five Classics" was mentioned in Nurhaci's original request for translations. And in the second group of partial translations, *Mencius* is the only one of these prestigious works included. The Confucian classics, so noteworthy in their impact upon China, and later translated so frequently into Manchu,[44] were pushed aside while the capable Dahai worked on lesser known books such as *Su shu* and *San-lüeh*.

The last of Dahai's works, *San-kuo chih*, is the official dynastic history of the three kingdoms period (222–277). It also was completed after Dahai's death and was published in 1647. Although it was begun earlier than any other official history, selections from the "Liao History," "Chin History" and "Yüan History" preceded it in print.[45] Most likely the *kuo chih* was chosen because it describes one of China's most romantic periods. An interest for this period is further shown by the translation of the great historical novel *San-kuo yen-yi* "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" in 1650. The fact that both the dynastic history and historical romance deal with exciting military exploits has endeared these texts to the Chinese and presumably gave them their peculiar appeal to the Manchus as well.

Apart from the texts translated by Dahai, we have record of only four other texts that were translated during the Mukden era, the Liao, Chin, Yüan and Sung histories. Only the first three of these are extant, and in fact there is no proof that the fourth was ever published.[46] Although the three histories were presented to the boy emperor Shun-chih[ak] in the first year of his reign at Peking, 1644, their prefaces state that they were completed in 1639. Since the quotation cited earlier mentions the emperor's reading from a translation of one of these, the "Chin History," as early as 1636, we know that it was at least partially completed by that time. The order for the translation of these works is still preserved in the "Veritable Records." Under the ninth year of Hong Taiji (1635) we read:

> The emperor summoned the ministers of the Literary Office and commanded them as follows: "When I examine historical works in Chinese, I find too many decorative phrases. Thus, it is of no benefit to read them all. Now we ought to gather from within the four histories, Liao, Sung, Chin and Yüan, those examples where, diligently seeking good governance, the country flourished, or those places where, acting contrary to the proper way, central order declined . . . those items which concern the essentials of government. Collecting and translating them, make a book.[47]

The intention of these translations, as the emperor's order clearly shows, was didactic: the selection was to include only materials relevant to principles of effective government. Despite the emperor's attack on the excessive artfulness of Chinese histories, his emphasis upon the importance of historical example to illustrate the virtues attending a rising state and the vices accompanying decline sounds very Chinese in tone. Obviously these particular histories were chosen because, with the exception of the "Sung History," they are histories of non-Chinese dynasties and thereby had special relevance to the Manchus who at that time stood on the threshold of conquering the Middle Kingdom.

Once the court had relocated in Peking, the number of Manchu translations rapidly increased. The first record of complete translations of the standard Confucian texts, the "Four Books" and "Five Classics," dates from the Shun-chih reign. The "Four Books" were translated by a Ch'ing official named Miao Ch'eng[al]. According to his biography, Miao became homeless during the latter years of the Ming Dynasty and wandered to Manchuria where he lived for a number of years, becoming highly skilled in Manchu. In one of the earliest civil service examinations to be held under Shun-chih, he passed with the highest ranking and subsequently earned a reputation for his profound understanding of the Confucian tradition. Several years after his success on the civil service examinations. Miao presented a translation of the "Four Books" to the emperor and received a python-design ceremonial robe and a jade belt as rewards.[48]

In 1653 the emperor issued an order for a translation of the "Five Classics." This order read in part, "The virtue of Heaven and the true doctrine of the kings is completely recorded in these books. They truly contain principles that the ten-thousand generations will not change."[49] Such a statement is indicative of the official reverence for the orthodox Chinese tradition. Although it is surprising that these texts were preceded in translation by lesser works such as *Su shu, San-lüeh* and *Wan-pao ch'üan-shu*, when the imperial order came, it left no doubt but that the Manchu ruler held the classics in great esteem.

A detailed elaboration of the ambitious translation work which followed must await that much-needed and occasionally called for comprehensive history of Manchu literature.[50] However, one final observation regarding Sino-Manchu translations is in order here.

Initially Sino-Manchu translations were aimed at making Chinese texts and ideas more accessible to Manchus. The earliest editions were not published in bilingual editions, as became the usual practice later, and may have been intended to be used and read independently from the Chinese source text.[51] However, by the great wave of Sino-Manchu translations that appeared during the Ch'ien-lung reign (1736–1796), the Manchu translations were regarded by the emperor as works of textual exegesis surpassing the available Chinese language commentaries and explanations. Far removed from the Mukden years when texts were translated to aid in understanding and ruling the Chinese world, the translators now felt themselves in a position to clarify the "real meaning" of the classics. This pride can be seen in the prefaces to translations completed during the Ch'ien-lung years. Only two examples need be presented here, the first

from an imperial preface to a 1765 translation of the "Book of Changes" (*I ching*[am]) and the second from a similar preface to the "Book of Poetry" (*Shih ching*[an]) translation of 1768:

> Not necessarily understanding its meaning in depth, they (i.e., Chinese commentators) can hastily assemble its words. Then, speculating and babbling with one another, they turn against basics and depart from the source. Gradually we have been brought to the point where the commentaries are clear, but the meaning of the classics obscure. Those who would correct mistakes lament that when the books were burned, some survived.[52] That which Manchu books disclose is fine and clear. Proceeding from the single term or phrase where full and empty words are carefully considered, the basics and sources are thoroughly elucidated. After it has taken form in chapters, if one merely looks at the text itself, reciting it through once, without notes or commentary, the hidden meaning comes through directly and comprehensively.[53]
>
> In ancient time the study of explanation and commentary aimed at making the texts of the classics clearer; but, in the end, they have made the classics obscure . . . If we translate the "Book of Poetry" with Manchu, the original texts will be followed and the original meaning elucidated. We will not use abstruse and difficult explanations; and we also do not wish to be "original."[54]

By this time then, the translators were proud of their direct approach to the classics and were confident that their interpretations were superior to the tortuous and difficult interpretations of earlier Chinese scholars. They had come far from the Mukden years when the texts chosen for translation indicate a desire to understand and assimilate Chinese culture through digests and general surveys. This new confidence was conveyed to Westerners who sometimes voiced unrestrained and perhaps immoderate enthusiasm for Manchu translations. In fact, how much the great Manchu specialist Zakharov sounds like the Ch'ien-lung Emperor when he says:

> They (the Manchus) translated the Chinese classics so clearly and accurately that they rendered unnecessary those many-tomed commentaries, with which, in China, learner and teacher spend nearly all their lives . . . All this work was done so clearly and so correctly that we must advise him who would know well Chinese language and literature to learn Chinese books with the Manchu translations.[55]

Chinese Glossary

a	范文程
b	顏子, 曾子, 子思
c	金史
d	王文奎
e	四書
f	寧完我
g	論語
h	孝經
i	大學
j	三國演義
k	太祖
l	素書
m	三略
n	兵家
o	黃石公
p	張良
q	劉邦
r	六韜
s	呂望
t	太公
u	西伯
v	刑部會典
w	明會典律例
x	萬寶全書
y	陳繼儒
z	天文
aa	諸夷
ab	笑話
ac	類書
ad	大乘經
ae	通鑑
af	資治通鑑 綱目
ag	朱熹
ah	李德啓
ai	王世禎, 綱鑑 會纂
aj	三國志
ak	順治
al	苗澄
am	易經
an	詩經

Notes

1. The use of Chinese military titles became common after the conquest of Chinese territories in 1621; see David Farquhar, "Mongolian versus Chinese Elements in the Early Manchu State," *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i* II (1971), 15. In the Chinese tradition, Hong Taiji ordered that a "Veritable Record" (*Shih lu*) of his father be compiled. It was completed in 1636, and, although this early edition is now lost, it was presumably based upon the "Old Manchu Annals" (*Chiu Man-chou tang*) which are extant and cover the years from 1607–1636. On the history and complicated inter-relationships of these texts, see the excellent study by Ch'en Chieh-hsien, *Man-wen Ch'ing-shih-lu yen-chiu* (Taipei, 1978). It should be noted that the first "Veritable Record" of 1636 was by title a record of both Hong Taiji's father Nurhaci and his mother Empress Hsiao-tz'u. According to Ch'en, Hong Taiji wished to prove the legitimacy of his sucession by emphasizing the position of his mother.

2. The Mongolian influence upon the Manchus has been convincingly demonstrated by Professor David Farguhar in two important articles: op. cit., 11–23; and "Origins of the Manchus Mongolian Policy," *The Chinese World Order*, ed. by J.K. Fairbank (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), 198–204.

3. The sinicization of the Jurchen is studied in Jing-shen Tao, *The Jurchen in Twelfth-Century China* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1976). The period of transition from the Jurchen to Manchu cultures is in need of closer study. For example, regarding the question of script, Henry Serruys quotes a passage from the Ming "Veritable Records" which indicates that by 1444 facility with the Jurchen script was rare in Manchuria; see "Remains of Mongol Customs in China During the Early Ming Period," *Monumenta Serica* 16:1–2 (1957), 141. On the other hand, Ki Joong Song writes as follows: "The exact date when the Jurchen gave up their early writing system is not known definitely. In the early sixteenth century the Chien-chou Nü-chen were still sending their official letters in the Jurchen script. The latest date mentioned in the Jurchen letters . . . is the fifth year of Chia-tsing (sic) (1526). Perhaps, until Nurhaci decreed that the Mongolian script be adopted in 1599, the old system was known among the Jurchen." "*Mongo Yuhae* [Categorical Explanation of the Mongolian Language] A Chinese-Korean-Mongolian Glossary of the 18th Century," (Harvard University Dissertation, 1978), 310–311.

4. This name itself is an example of Manchu sinification via the Mongols. *Hong* ultimately derives from Chinese *huang* "imperial, royal." *Taiji* is also from Chinese *t'ai-tzu* "heir-apparent." But as Ch'en chieh-hsien has shown, the Manchus used *taiji* like the Mongols in the broader sense of "noble"; see *Ch'ing-shih tsa-pi* (Taipei, 1977), 6–8. In fact, the full term *gung taiji* exists in Mongolian meaning "an honorary title conferred on a taiji", see F. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 986. That the Manchu title was borrowed from Mongolian rather than directly from Chinese is further supported by the fact that Chinese *t'ai-tzu* was borrowed separately by the Manchus from Chinese as *taidz* and used in the sense of "heir-apparent." Hong Taiji has been consistently called "Abahai" in Western sources. In one of his publications, Prof. Ch'en notes that he does not know the basis for this Western tradition. In all available early Chinese and Manchu records he is called either *duici beile* "the fourth prince" or Hong Taiji; see *Man-wen Ch'ing-shih-lu yen-chiu*, 165. Professors Ch'en and Okada challenged me at one time to find a textual basis for the name Abahai. So far my search has proven to be unsuccessful. The name Abahai is itself curious. The *Wu-t'i ch'ing-wen chien* lists this as a Mongolian word for "prince" in addition to its regular meaning of "uncle"; see *Wu-t'i ch'ing-wen chien*, trans. and explained by Jitsuzo Tamura, Shunju Imanishi and Hisashi Sato, (Kyoto, 1966), 53:570.

5. Robert Lee, *The Manchurian Frontier in Ch'ing History*, Harvard East Asian Series 43 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), 8. On the subject of the sinicization of the Manchus at Mukden and during the early dynastic period, see Li Hsüeh-chih, "Shih shih Man-chou min-tsu ch'u-hsing shih-ch'i wen-hua yen-chin te ta shih" *Bulletin of the Institute of China Border Area Studies*, No. 1 (July, 1970), 79–100.

6. These annals, which chronicle the rise of the Manchus in considerable detail, are the primary material for the study of the early Mukden period. The annals were compiled at the same time as the events they discuss. They were recopied during the Ch'ien-lung reign in both a "pointed" and "non-pointed" script, and copies of each of these versions were deposited in Peking and Mukden. The non-pointed Peking text has been reprinted by the National Palace Museum in ten volumes (Taipei, 1969). However, the material of these annals can be most handily mined in a clear transcription and Japanese translation of the Pointed Mukden version: *Man-wen Lao-tang*, trans. and annotated by Kanda Nobuo, et al., 7 Vols. (Tokyo, 1955–1963).

7. On Fan, see Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (1943; rpt., Taipei, 1972), 231–232.

8. *Sefu i erdemu abka na de acabuhabi. doro julge te de hiksebuhebi. ninggun ging be niyeceme ekiyembume bithe banjubufi. turnen jalan de toktobuhabi.* (*Man-wen lao-tang*, 1223). For the Chinese text of this order, see *Ta-ch'ing T'ai-tsung Wen huang-ti shih-lu*, 30:25a Hereafter, this latter source will be cited simply as *Shih-lu.*

9. *Bi ere bithe be ubaliyambume manjurame arafi hulaha ci ebsi. morin. gurgu be sabuha de feksiki seme san cukcurere gese. mini san yasa getuken genggiyen ohobi. bi alimbaharakū saisambi. ere buthei kooli be tuwaci.taidzu aguda. taidzung ukimai yabuha fe doro be hidzung hola han. wan yan liyang han de isinjiha manggi. umesi waliyafi nure boco jirgacun sebjen de dosifi nikan i doro be dahahabi. sidzung ulu han de isinjiha manggi. dade olhome doigon ci juse omosi be nikan i doro de dosirahū seme dahun dahun i mafari fe doro be ume onggoro. nioi jy etuku be etu. nioi jy gisun be taci. gabtara niyamniyara erin dari urebu seme jing henduhebi.* (*Man-wen lao-tang*, 1439–1440). Compare the Chinese text in *Shih-lu*, 32:8a–8b.

10. "The Significance of the Ch'ing Period in Chinese History," *JAS*, Vol. 26 (1967), 192.

11. See, for example, Li, op. cit., 95, and Franz Michael, *The Origin of Manchu Rule in China* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1942), 104–105.

12. The capital was shifted to Mukden by Nurhaci in the spring of 1625. On this subject see *Man-chou shih-lu*, Vol. 8, and Imanishi Shunju, *Chūon Manshū jitsuroku* (rpt., Taipei, 1969).

13. *Shih-liao ts'ung-k'an ch'u-pien*, ed. by Lo Chen-yü (rpt., Taipei, n.d.), 144–145.

14. *Shih-liao*, 244.

15. Hummel, 13–14.

16. Walter Fuchs, *Beiträge zur Mandjurischen Bibliographie und Literatur* (Tokyo, 1936), 42–43.

17. Translations of Chinese novels became popular throughout China border regions. Since many of these remained in manuscript only, it is possible that a large number have been lost. See W. Heissig, *Geschichte der Mongolischen Literatur*, Vol. 1 (Wiesbaden; Otto Harrassowitz, 1972), 265–266.

18. *Shih-lu*, 12–14b. See also *Ch'ing shih*, "Biography Section," 14:3624–3625, and Hummel, 213–214.

19. *Shih-lu*, 12:15a.

20. *Shih-lu*, 32:9a.

21. On this subject see Louis Ligeti, "À propos de l'écriture mandchoue," *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 2 (1952), 235–297.

22. While the *Shih-lu* lists four books as having been completed by Dahai (32:15a), the biographies only mention three as having been ordered by Nurhaci. The *Wan-pao ch'üan-shu* is not included in Nurhaci's order. See *Ch'ing shih* 14:3264, Hummel, 213, and Li, 95.

23. Li, 95.

24. The story is found in *Shih chi* 55:2a (Pai-na edition). It was translated by Burton Watson in *Records of the Grand Historian of China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), Vol. I, 135.

25. Chang Hsin-ch'eng, *Wei-shu t'ung-k'ao* (1939); rpt., Taipei, 1970), Vol. II, 808–809.

26. *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* edition, 1.

27. Ibid., 5.

28. Ibid., 13.

29. The textual critic Ch'ao Kung-wu describes the text as follows: "Confused and without unifying thread, it in general was formed by selecting materials from other books"; see Chang, 808.

30. Chang, 806–807.

31. *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* edition, 2.

32. *Shih chi*, 32:1a–3a.

33. Chang, 791–797.

34. The list of Jurchen translations, containing a number of military texts, can be found in *Liao, Chin, Yüan i-wen-chih* (rpt., Peking, 1958), *Chin i-wen-chih*, 35 & 48. Eventually the Manchus translated such standard Chinese military texts as *Sun tzu* and *Wu tzu.*

35. Fuchs, 40–41.

36. See Hummel, 83–84.

37. There is a description of an edition of this text in Teng Ssu-yü, *Chung-kuo lei-shu mu-lü ch'u-kao* (Peking, 1935), 119. Chapter 7 of this edition contains a Manchu vocabulary which is referred to by P.G. Von Möllendorf, "Essay on Manchu Literature," *JNChRAS*, XXIV (1889–1890), 9. However, an edition of the text which I inspected in the University of Washington Library has substituted a chapter on Chinese "seal script." With this one exception, the contents of the book are the same as described by Teng.

38. Thus, Möllendorf entered it in his bibliography as "A Buddhist sutra, either the Mahayana sutra or all the sutras of the Mahayana" (25). That Dahai would have undertaken a translation project as large as Möllendorf's second possibility is unlikely.

39. See Sechin Jagchid, "The Manchu Ch'ing Policy Towards Mongolian Religion," *Tractata Altaica* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976), 302–303. A study of Buddhism at the Mukden court is currently being conducted by Mr. Samuel Grupper of Indiana University.

40. "Skizze der manjurischen Literatur," *Keleti Szemle* IX (1908), 28.

41. Li Te-ch'i, *Man-wen shu-chi lien-ho mu-lu* (Peking, 1933), 36.

42. Fuchs, 46.

43. Wan's work was one of a genre called *Kang-chien* which attempted to summarize Chu Hsi's great work. Several other works of this type were composed throughout the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties.

44. On this topic, see my article "Manchu Translations of Chou Dynasty Texts," *Early China* 3 (Fall, 1977), 52–54. This article overlooks an important study by Fuchs on a 1741 translation of the *Four Books* entitled "Eine unbeachtete Mandju-Übersetzung der Vier Bücher von 1741," *Collectanea Mongolica, Festschrift für Professor Dr. Rintchen*, ed. by W. Heissig (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1969), 59–64.

45. See Nicholas Poppe, et al., *Catalogue of the Manchu-Mongol Section of the Toyo Bunko* (Tokyo, 1964), 227.

46. Fuchs, *Beiträge*, 43, fn. 2.

47. *Tung-hua lu*, 2:19a.

48. *Ta-ch'ing chi-fu hsien-che chuan*, comp. by Hsü Shih-ch'ang, 2:18a–18b. Unfortunately, Miao's translations apparently have been lost.

49. *Tung-hua lu* (Shun-chih reign), 4:21b.

50. Most recently Herbert Franke has noted that "Eine Geschichte der mandschurischen Literatur gibt es noch nicht . . ." *Sinologie an Deustchen Universitäten* (Wiesbaden, 1967), 50. The announced Union Catalogue being compiled by Hartmut Walravens and Martin Gimm will go far toward meeting this need (See *Manchu Studies Newsletter*, ed. by Larry V. Clark, Vols. I & II [1977 & 1978], 20–21).

51. Ch'en Chieh-hsien argues that the motive for some of these early translations was "to develop among the Manchu nobility an educational system which, like that of the Chinese, would enable them to 'read books and discuss principles, and to exert all their efforts for the benefit of the country.'" "The Decline of the Manchu Language in China During the

Ch'ing Period (1644–1911)," *Altaica Collecta. Berichte und Vorträge der XVII. PIAC, 3–8 Juni 1974 in Bonn / Bad Honnef*, ed. W. Heissig (Wiesbaden, 1976), 137–138.

52. This reference is to the infamous burning of the books under the first Ch'in Emperor (221–209).

53. *I ching man-han ho-pi: Han i araha ubaliyambuha jijungge nomun i sutucin*, (1765), 1:1b–2b.

54. *Shih ching man-han ho-pi: Han i araha ubaliyambuha iregebun o nomun i sutucin*, (1768), 4a–4b.

55. M.F.A. Fraser, "History of the Manchu Language from the Preface to Professor I. Zacharoff's Manchu-Russian Dictionary," *The Chinese Recorder*, XXII (1891), 153.

■ Source: Ch'en, Chieh-hsien, 'Introduction to the Manchu text version of the Ch'ing emperors, Ch'i-chü-chu (notes on the emperors' daily activities)', in *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 17, Nos. 2–4 (12 October 1973), Otto Harrassowitz, pp. 111–127.

INTRODUCTION TO THE MANCHU TEXT VERSION OF THE CH'ING EMPERORS' CH'I-CHÜ-CHU (NOTES ON THE EMPERORS' DAILY ACTIVITIES)

Ch'en Chieh-Hsien

Historical Background of the Ch'i-Chü-Chu

The Ch'i-chü-chu (CCC) is a special feature of Chinese historiography, which is devoted to recording daily the words and actions of the sovereign. It resembles somewhat a diary, kept by scribes appointed by the Emperor. Because it is the basic contemporary record of his activities, therefore it forms the chief source for compilation of the *Shi-lu* (Veritable Records) and *Pen-chi* (Imperial Basic Annals), after the death of the ruler.

In the Chou Dynasty (1111? BC–281 BC), a type of scribe existed similar to the one which in later times was charged with keeping the CCC, although in the ancient period the records themselves were not known by the same name as in later times. According to investigations of this subject, the CCC as a formal category of historical writing appears to have begun in the Later Han dynasty (25–220 AD). We know that CCC were kept for the Later Han Emperors Ming-ti, Ling-ti and Hsien-ti, though these records have subsequently been lost.[1] During the period from Chin through Sui (265–617 AD), every dynasty prepared such documents, and in this period, CCC existed for a total of some 53 different emperors.[2] The CCC of the T'ang dynasty were even more famous, because in this dynasty a special government agency was established, charged with the preparation of these records. Furthermore, it was required that the CCC of every three month period, constituting an integral "season", be registered as one volume and sent annually with the three other volumes of that year to the Kuo-shih-kuan (State Historiographer's Office). Therefore the institutional aspects of compiling the CCC were regularized and a large volume of these records was produced. The Sung emperors Kao-tsung and Hsiao-tsung have often been discussed by scholars in connection with their CCC. It is said that during the rule of Hsiao-tsung one volume of CCC was sent each month to the Historiographer's Office, making 12 volumes in all annually. It is quite safe to conclude that the amount of CCC generated in Sung times exceeded that of T'ang.[3] The so-called "barbarian" dynasties Liao, Chin, Yuan also instituted officials charged with preparing CCC, to record the activities of the emperors. The Ming dynasty was established in 1368 by the Han Chinese, but four years earlier, CCC were already being recorded for that dynasty's founding emperor.[4] Although his CCC are not now extant, nevertheless a work which titled *Huang-ming Pao-hsün* (Sacred Instructions of the Ming Dynasty), was compiled relying heavily on the CCC of the first Ming emperor, T'ai-tsu. After the time of the Ming founder, and for nearly two centuries thereafter, CCC were not kept, because T'ai-tsu had abolished the office charged with compilation of these records. In the Ming *Shih-lu* entry for 1573, we find mention of an official of the Han-lin (or National) Academy, who appealed to the emperor to reinstitute the keping of CCC.[5] Thus in late Ming times, this work became the duty of officials of the Hanlin Academy. Previously, modern scholars considered that the CCC of the whole Ming dynasty had been lost, but in 1933, Mr. Hsieh Kuo-chen caused a change in this opinion by discovering in the Hopei Provincial Library some 50 fascicles of CCC from the Wan-li period.[6] The following year, the Japanese scholar, Imanishi Shunjü, discovered in the Ueno Library of Tokyo some 117 volumes of CCC from the Wan-li, T'ai-chang, and T'ien-ch'i reign periods. Later he also discovered in the Cabinet Library (Naikaku Bunko) 12 volumes of CCC dating to the T'ien-ch'i reign period.[7] So we can now verify that CCC from Ming times are in fact extant at present.

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[1] Yuan Hung, Hou-Han Chi (Records of the Later Han Dynasty): Vol. 11; Fan Yeh, Hou-Han Shu (Later Han History): Basic Annal of Empress Ma and Chu Hsi-tsu, Han T'ang Sung Ch'i-chü-chu Kao (Investigation of the Ch'i-chü-chu of the Han, T'ang and Sung Emperors) Kuo-hsüeh chi-kan 2: 4 (Peiping, December 1930).

[2] Li Tsung-t'ung, Chung-kuo Shih-hsueh Shih (A History of Chinese Historiography), p. 74, (Taipei, 1953).

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[3] Chou Pi-ta, Cheng-ming Chi: This is quotated from one of Chou's memoriala dated Shao-hsing 32nd year 1162 AD).

[4] Ming Shih (Ming History): Vol. 73.

[5] Ming Shih-lu (Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty): Wan-li 1st year 8th month 26th day.

[6] Hsieh Kuo-chen, Wan-Ming Shih-chi Kao (A Study of the Late Ming Historical Materials) (Peiping, 1933).

[7] Imanishi Shunjü, "A Study of the Ch'i-chü-chu of the Last Three Ming Reigns" (The Mongols and the Manchus Under the Ming Dynasty) pp. 587–662, Kyoto University Press, 1963.

The Ch'i-Chü-Chu of the Ch'ing Dynasty

In the early years of the Ch'ing dynasty, CCC were not kept. In my opinion this is attributable to the institutional instability of secretarial and historiographical organs which obtained in the first quarter century after the conquest of China. The following narrative gives a detailed picture of this evolution. According to records now known, as early as the time of Nurhaci a scholar named Erdeni had already undertaken to compile historical records.[8] At that time, the bureau in which this work was carried out was known as Shu-fang (Library of Study), where in addition to compilation, translation was also done.[9] In 1629, Hong taiji (frequently called Abahai by Western scholars), son of Nurhaci, established a bureau known as the Wen-kuan (Literature Hall), which was a prototype of the mature State Historiographer's Office of the Ch'ing dynasty.[10] In spring of 1636, on the eve of the founding of the Great Ch'ing Empire, Hong taiji expanded the Wen-kuan into an office called Nei San-yuan (the Three Inner Courts). The scale and scope of the historiographical activities and institutions of the Ch'ing period were thereby enlarged.[11]

After the conquest of China, due to the continued use of Ming period institutional procedures by many of the Yamen and other bureaux, therefore, the Hanlin Academy, which had previously been responsible for compilation of state historical materials, existed side by side with the Nei San-yuan. However, in the next year, 1645, the Hanlin Academy was deprived of independent status, and became a part of the Nei San-yuan,[12] In 1658, the Nei San-yuan was changed to the Nei-ko, or Grand Secretariat, and the Hanlin Academy was again restored to an independent existence, separate of the Nei-ko. In the early K'ang-hsi period conservative Manchu ministers, feeling that sinicization had proceeded too far under the Shun-chih emperor (1644–1661), changed the Nei-ko back to the organizational framework of the Nei San-yuan. But in 1670, when the young emperor K'ang-hsi became mature enough to attend personally to affairs of state,

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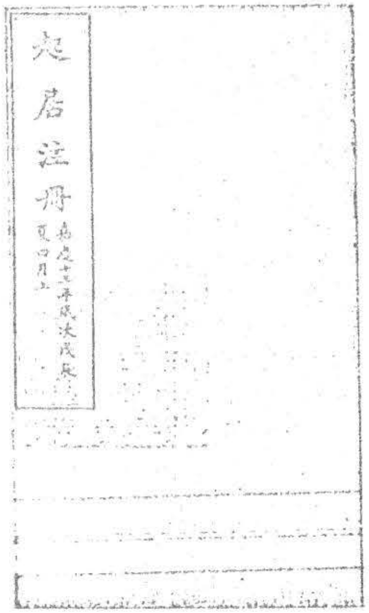
[8] Chiu Man-chou tang (Early Manchu Archives), Vol. I, p. 129 (National Palace Museum edition, Taipei, 1969).

[9] Lo Chen-yu, compiled, Shih-liao ts'ung-kan ch'u-pien (Miscellaneous Historical Materials of Early Ch'ing period, first series), Vol. I, pp. 27a and 45a. (Tung-fang Hsueh-hui, 1924).

[10] Ta-Ch'ing Li-chao Shih-lu (Veritable Records of Successive Reigns of the Ch'ing Dynasty): Tai-tsung wen-huang-ti Shih-lu 5: 11b.

[11] Ibid., 28: 2–3.

[12] Ta-Ch'ing Hui-tien Shih-li (Collected Statutes and precedents of the Ch'ing Dynasty), 1044: 1.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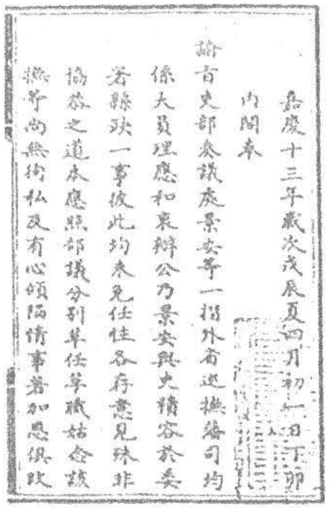
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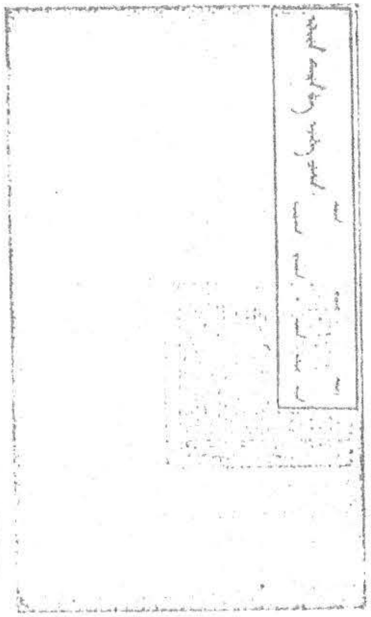

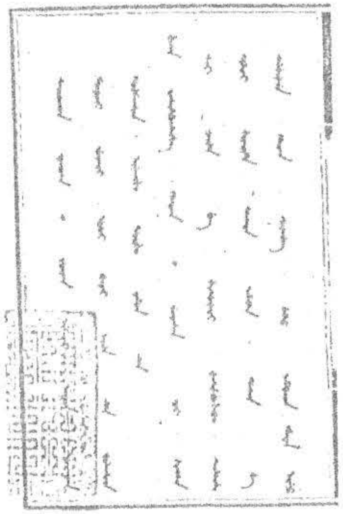

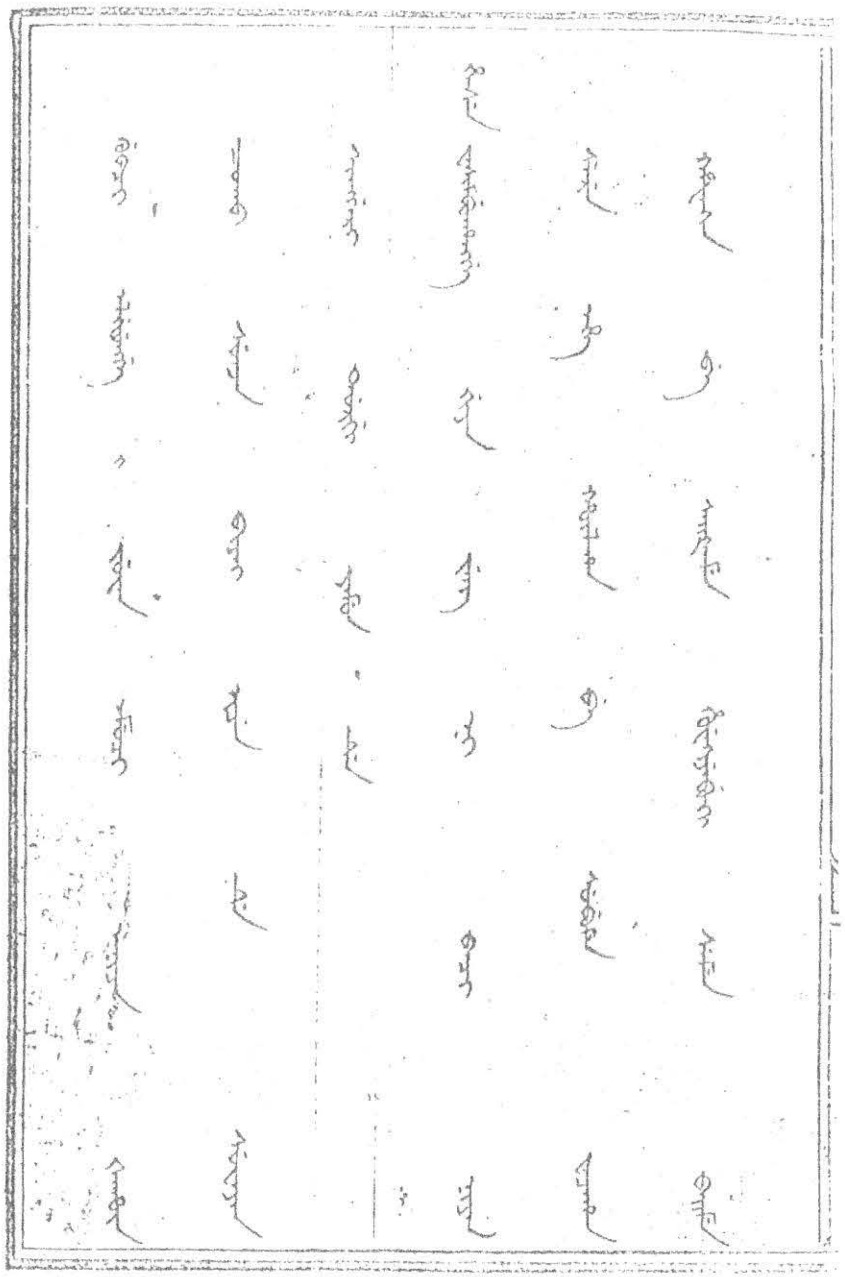

he once more reversed the structure, restoring an independent Hanlin Academy, and changing Nei San-yuan to Nei-ko.[13]

In accord with the trends working against the conservative Manchu forces, in 1668, when this nativist wing which resisted Sinicization was on the verge of being overcome, the Chinese scholar official Hsiung Tz'u-li requested the K'ang-hsi emperor to establish a Yamen for keeping CCC. His memorial urged the Emperor to permit the perpetuation of the model of his conduct as a guide to officials and the people, by installing scribes to record daily his every significant word and act. The emperor's reply was merely to note receipt of the memorial, without approval or further comment.[14] In the following year, the official Wei Hsiang-shu also made a similar request, and also without success.[15] Finally, in 1670, with the re-establishment of the Hanlin Academy, an office for keeping of CCC was also set up, which was nominally an independent organ, but which in fact drew its principal officers from the Hanlin Academy.[16]

One more special feature of Ch'ing dynasty CCC is worth mention. This arises from the fact that the Manchus had their own writing system. Accordingly, it was required that the CCC be prepared in dual versions, one in Manchu and one in Chinese.[17] This was a distinctive trait of Ch'ing period historiography which differentiates it from that of other periods, and which is responsible for production of the documents which are discussed in the present essay.

For a brief time after establishing the office for keeping CCC, the K'ang-hsi emperor was very conscientious and eager to see that these records were faithfully kept. However, after a few years his attitude changed, and he began to resent some of the officials involved in this work. First, he disliked the scribes' continually trailing after him to carry out their work. So he decreed that entries regarding such activities as his visits to the empress dowager's apartments be limited to notation of the event, while-barring the scribes from following him to observe details of his conversation and activities in so intimately personal a situation.[18] Later he further barred the scribes from attending him when he was in secret conference or private discussion with high officials.[19] In 1682, he went so far as to express

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[13] Ibid., 1044: 2.

[14] Ta-Ch'ing Li-chao Shih-lu: Sheng-tsu Jen-huang-ti Shih-lu, 27: 4a.

[15] Ta-Ch'ing Hui-tien Shih-li: 1055: 1a.

[16] Ibid., 1055: 1b.

[17] Ibid., 1055: 13b.

[18] Ibid., 1055: 14a.

[19] Ibid., 1055: 14b.

suspicion regarding the character and loyalty of the scribes. Specifically he suspected that their personal biases in favor of or against certain high officials would be reflected in their records: "Who can be sure that these scribes are all gentlemen (chun-tzu)?", he complained.[20] Finally, in 1718, this emperor, considering that the officials of the CCC Yamen were too young, immature, and indiscreet in their handling of confidential and intimate Palace affairs, therefore he abolished this office.[21] Fortunately, after only five years, when his son Yung-cheng had succeeded him, the CCC Yamen was again revived.[22] This then was the final change in the institutional arrangements for compilation of the CCC, and the resulting situation remained permanently in effect until the very end of the dynasty.

According to the regulations of the Ch'ing dynasty, the emperor's CCC was to be written in a definite prescribed order. For example: In first place were recorded certain types of the emperor's activities which might occur that day, such as sacrifices to the Gods, visits to the empress dowager's residence, travels outside the capital, etc. These activities were also entered in a fixed order. In second place were recorded the imperial pronouncements and edicts of the day; and third came entries regarding the memorials presented to the emperor, again in a definite order, with those from capital officials place ahead of those from officers stationed in the provinces. In fourth place were records of daily interviews with officials, etc., in the same order as mentioned in the third type above. In short, records in the CCC were all kept in a prescribed order.[23]

With the major exception of the K'ang-hsi emperor, whose CCC were kept at the rate of one volume per month, the other emperors of the Ch'ing dynasty had two volumes per month, making a total of 24 per year, or 26 in the case of leap years. A very limited number of exceptions to this general rule does occur.

The process of compilation began with the low grade officer's preliminary record, which was then submitted to a higher official for review, and finally was turned over to the Chang-yuan Hsueh-shih (Chancellor of the National Academy) for a final approval before binding and stamping with the seal of the Hanlin Academy, and then storing in the archives. Both Manchu and Chinese versions were processed in the way described above. From the time when K'ang-hsi established the CCC Yamen, both Han Chinese and Manchu officials were involved, each writing in his own language. Officers assigned to this work numbered in total around twenty, with minor variations in different periods.[24]

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[20] Ibid., 1055: 16a–b.

[21] Ta-Ch'ing Li-chao Shih-lu: Sheng-tsu Jen-huang-ti Shih-lu, 271: 23a; 272: 2a–b; 278: 2a–b and 278: 14b–15a.

[22] Ta-Ch'ing Hui-tien Shih-li: 1055: 4a–b.

[23] Ibid., 1055: 8–12.

The Present State of the Collection of Manchu Text Ch'i-Chü-Chu at National Palace Museum in Taipei, Republic of China

In the past, although many scholars, both Chinese and foreign, have made catalogues of Manchu text historical materials, nevertheless, no one has previously carried out such work concerning these Manchu text CCC. After having the good fortune some three years ago to discover these materials at the Palace Museum, I was especially happy in the course of studying them to find that, though some minor deficiencies are found, in general, they are in a state of near completeness. In the process of ordering these records over the past year, I have prepared a detailed catalogue of these CCC which follows below.

(years and months mentioned in the following table are by Chinese reckoning)

(1) K'ang-Hsi Reign Period (1662–1722):

year	*no. of volumes extant*	*condition*	*notes*
10	4	incomplete	lacks months 1–8
11	12	complete	
12	12	complete	
13	1	incomplete	lacks monts 2–12
14	13	complete	intercalary month added after 5th month.
15	12	complete	
16	12	complete	
17	13	complete	intercalary month added after 3rd month.
18	7	incomplete	lacks months 1, 2, 7, 8, and 11.
19	13	complete	intercalary month added after 8th month.
20	12	complete	
21	12	complete	
22	13	complete	intercalary month added after 6th month.
23	12	complete	contains waterstains.
24	12	complete	
25	13	complete	intercalary month added after 4th month.
26	12	complete	
27	12	complete	
28	13	complete	intercalary month added after 3rd month.
29	12	complete	
30	13	complete	intercalary month added after 7th month.
31	12	complete	
32	12	complete	
33	13	complete	intercalary month added after 5th month.
34	12	complete	
35	12	complete	
36	13	complete	intercalary month added after 3rd month.
37	12	complete	
38	13	complete	intercalary month added after 7th month.
39	12	complete	
40	12	complete	
41	13	complete	intercalary month added after 6th month.
42	12	complete	
50	12	complete	
51	12	complete	
62	13	complete	intercalary month added after 5th month.

(2) Yung-Cheng Reign Period (1723–1735):

year	*no. of volumes extant*	*condition*	*notes*
8	24	complete	partially destroyed by bookworms.
9	24	complete	
10	26	complete	intercalary month added after 5th month. contains waterstains.
11	24	complete	partially contains waterstains.
12	24	complete	
13	27	complete	intercalary month added after 4th month. three volumes of CCC were recorded for the 8th month.

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[24] Ibid., 1055: 1b–2a and H.B. Brunnert & V.V. Hagelstrom, Present Day Political Organization of China, p. 74 (Peking, 1910).

(3) Ch'ien-Lung Reign Period (1736–1795):

year	*no. of volumes extant*	*condition*	*notes*
1	24	complete	
2	26	complete	intercalary month added after 9th month.
3	24	complete	
4	24	complete	the first six volumes contains waterstains.
5	26	complete	intercalary month added after 6th month. partially contains waterstains.
6	24	complete	
7	24	complete	
8	26	complete	intercalary month added after 4th month.
9	24	complete	
10	24	complete	covers of 24 volumes destroyed by bookworms.
11	26	complete	intercalary month added after 3rd month.
12	24	complete	partially contains waterstains.
13	24	incomplete	intercalary month added after 7th month. lacks months 2 (part I) & 5 (part I).
16	26	complete	intercalary month added after 5th month.
17	24	complete	
18	24	complete	
20	24	complete	
21	26	complete	intercalary month added after 9th month.
22	24	complete	
23	8	incomplete	lacks months 1–4, 8a, 9–12a.
30	26	complete	intercalary month added after 2nd month. partially contains waterstains.
31	24	complete	
32	26	complete	intercalary month added after 7th month.
33	24	complete	
34	24	complete	
35	26	complete	intercalary month added after 5th month.
39	24	complete	
40	26	complete	intercalary month added after 10th month.
41	24	complete	partially destroyed by bookworms.
42	24	complete	partially contains waterstains.
43	26	complete	intercalary month added after 6th month.
46	26	complete	intercalary month added after 5th month. contains waterstains.
48	24	complete	
49	26	complete	intercalary month added after 3rd month.
51	16	incomplete	intercalary month added after 7th month. lacks months 1a–b, 2b, 4a–b, 5a–b, 8a, 10a, 12a.

Table (*cont.*)

year	*no. of volumes extant*	*condition*	*notes*
54	26	complete	intercalary month added after 5th month.
55	24	complete	
56	24	complete	partially destroyed by bookworms.
57	26	complete	intercalary month added after 4th month.
58	12	incomplete	lacks months 1–6.
59	24	complete	
60	26	complete	intercalary month added after 2nd month.
61	4	complete	volumes arranged by season, not by month; covers contain Manchu text titles meaning "CCC of the Father of the Emperor".
62	4	complete	ditto
63	4	complete	ditto
64	1		lacks seasons summer, autumn, winter.

(4) Chia-Ch'ing Reign Period (1796–1820):

year	*no. of volumes extant*	*condition*	*notes*
2	26	complete	intercalary month added after 6th month.
3	16	incomplete	lacks months 1–4.
4	24	complete	
5	26	complete	intercalary month added after 4th month. partially contains waterstains.
6	24	complete	
7	24	complete	
13	26	complete	intercalary month added after 5th month.
14	24	complete	
15	24	complete	
16	26	complete	intercalary month added after 3rd month. contains waterstains.
20	24	complete	partially destroyed by bookworms.
21	26	complete	intercalary month added after 6th month.
23	24	complete	some volumes of this year contain errors in Manchu titles on the covers.
24	26	complete	intercalary month added after 4th month.
25	25	complete	three volumes of CCC were recorded for the 8th month, destroyed by bookworms.

(5) Tao-Kuang Reign Period (1821–1850):

year	*no. of volumes extant*	*condition*	*notes*
1	24	complete	
2	26	complete	intercalary month added after 3rd month. volumes of 2b, 6b & 12b of this year contain errors in the Manchu titles on covers.
3	24	complete	some volumes contain errors in the Manchu titles on the covers.
4	26	complete	intercalary month added after 7th month.
5	24	complete	
6	24	complete	
7	26	complete	intercalary month added after 5th month.
8	24	complete	
9	24	complete	partially destroyed by bookworms.
10	26	complete	intercalary month added after 4th month.
11	24	complete	covers of 10a & b contain errors. partially destroyed by bookworms.
12	26	complete	intercalary month added after 9th month.
13	24	complete	partially destroyed by bookworms.
14	24	complete	
15	26	complete	intercalary month added after 6th month.
16	24	complete	
17	24	complete	covers of 10a & b contain errors.
18	26	complete	intercalary month added after 4th month. covers contain errors.
19	24	complete	partially destroyed by bookworms.
20	24	complete	ditto
21	26	complete	intercalary month added after 3rd month.
22	24	complete	covers contain errors.
23	26	complete	intercalary month added after 7th month.
24	24	complete	partially destroyed by bookworms.
25	24	complete	
26	26	complete	intercalary month added after 5th month.
27	24	complete	partially destroyed by bookworms.
28	24	complete	ditto
29	26	complete	intercalary month added after 4th month.
30	24	complete	

(6) Hsien-Feng Reign Period (1851–1861):

year	*no. of volumes extant*	*condition*	*notes*
1	26	complete	intercalary month added after 8th month.
2	24	complete	
3	24	complete	
4	26	complete	intercalary month added after 7th month.
5	24	complete	covers contain errors.
6	24	complete	
7	26	complete	intercalary month added after 5th month.
8	24	complete	covers contain errors.
9	24	complete	contains waterstains.
10	26	complete	intercalary month added after 3rd month.
11	24	complete	contains waterstains.

(7) T'ung-Chih Reign Period (1862–1874):

year	*no. of volumes*	*condition*	*notes*
1	12	incomplete	lacks months 7–12.
2	6	incomplete	lacks months 4–12.
3	24	complete	
4	26	complete	intercalary month added after 5th month.
5	23	incomplete	lacks month 3a.
6	24	complete	
7	26	complete	intercalary month added after 4th month.
8	24	complete	covers contain errors. bookworms.
9	22	incomplete	lacks months 4–5. intercalary month: 10.
10	24	complete	
11	24	complete	
12	26	complete	intercalary month: 6
13	20	incomplete	lacks months 9–10.

(8) Kuang-Hsu Reign Period (1875–1908):

year	*no. of volumes extant*	*condition*	*notes*
1	24	complete	
2	26	complete	intercalary month: 5
3	24	complete	
4	24	complete	
5	26	complete	intercalary month: 3

Table (*cont.*)

year	*no. of volumes extant*	*condition*	*notes*
6	24	complete	
7	26	complete	intercalary month: 7
8	24	complete	
9	24	complete	
10	26	complete	intercalary month: 5
11	24	complete	
12	24	complete	
13	26	complete	intercalary month: 4
14	24	complete	
15	24	complete	
16	26	complete	intercalary month: 2
17	24	complete	
18	26	complete	intercalary month: 6
19	24	complete	
20	24	complete	
21	25	incomplete	intercalary month: 5 lacks month 12a.
22	24	complete	contains waterstains.
23	23	incomplete	lacks month 4a. partially destroyed by bookworms.
24	26	complete	intercalary month: 3
27	24	incomplete	lacks months 2b & 6b. three volumes of CCC were recorded for the 5th and 10th months.
28	24	complete	
29	26	complete	intercalary month: 5
30	24	complete	
31	24	complete	
32	26	complete	intercalary month: 4
33	24	complete	
34	24	complete	covers contain errors.

(9) Hsuan-T'ung Reign Period (1909–1911):

year	*no. of volumes*	*condition*	*notes*
1	26	complete	intercalary month: 2
2	24	complete	

The Manchu edition of the CCC, in my opinion, permits us to make the following observations:

1) These materials have apparently not been studied or even catalogued by scholars since the fall of the Ch'ing dynasty. The volumes were wrapped in packages on which was stamped the officials seal of the Hanlin Academy, bearing words in both Manchu and Chinese. This clearly proves that these records were packaged before the Revolution of 1911, and have remained untouched during the Republican period.

2) Speaking with regard to quantity: The CCC from the Tao-kuang and Hsien-feng periods are entirely complete. However, the records for all other reign periods are incomplete in one respect or another. In general, the reigns before Tao-kuang show more omissions than those later. The 4083 manuscript volumes of these CCC represent a greater quantity of records than that of the Shih-lu or other historical sources.

3) In regard to the period of time covered by these CCC, there is no absolutely uniform format, For the K'ang-hsi period, the rule is one volume per month, but from Yung-cheng times, the general practise is two volumes every month, with exceptional cases, such as those infrequent examples, from the Yung-cheng and Chia-ch'ing reigns, which show three volumes every month. On the other hand, CCC for the Ch'ien-lung emperor after his retirement were prepared at the rate of only one every three months.

4) In regard to content, the K'ang-hsi period CCC are rather simple. But from the Yung-cheng period, the records became more complex, especially with an increase in entries of edicts. Further, an inspection of the volumes for the K'ang-hsi, Yung-cheng, and Ch'ien-lung reigns shows a high level of accuracy in the work of copying, whereas a clear decline in quality is evident in this regard, dating from the Chia-ch'ing period. Even errors in the title on the cover are often to be found. These are due to carelessness in the process of binding, when the title of a given volume, written out on a strip of cloth, was erroneously fastened on to the vocer of a wrong volume. Errors in copying the "heavenly stems and earthly branches" (t'ien-kan ti-chih), Chinese symbols used as notations for years and days, are also evident, as are mistakes in the use of circles and dots, which are diacritical marks in the Manchu script, used as indicators of pronunciation. This bespeaks clearly the ever lower standard of proficiency in Manchu language obtaining among Manchu officials in late Ch'ing times.

5) Although many Manchu archives are found in collections around the world, however, what is especially rare are records of the Hsuan-t'ung reign period, the last of the dynasty. Now, *Shih-lu* and *Pen-chi* were normally compiled only after the death of the emperor whose reign they

recorded, so these two kinds of materials and with the penultimate Ch'ing ruler, Kuang-hsü; the last emperor, Hsuan-t'ung, was still living after the Revolution, and his *Shih-lu* and *Pen-chi* were never compiled. Therefore, the value of the Manchu CCC is unique as a source for the last several years of the dynasty.

Conclusion

No matter whether we view these Ch'ing dynasty Manchu text CCC as examples of Manchu documents, or as materials for linguistic research, or as historical sources, in any case, their value is uniquely significant. Below, I will discuss this matter from several different aspects:

a) In regard to the materials as a comprehensive collection: While overseas collections of Manchu materials in Japan, Europe and America contain large holdings, nevertheless none but the National Palace Museum's collection in Taipei has anything approaching such extensive holdings in 4083 volumes of manuscript materials, recording directly and systematically the affairs of the Ch'ing emperors. Thus the value of those CCC far exceeds that of the mass of ordinary miscellaneous materials which may be widely seen.

b) In regard to the materials as sources for study of the Manchu language: After the invention of Manchu script in 1599, the influence of the Mongol language was very strong on the early development of Manchu. However, with the passage of time, and particularly after gaining rule over China, the influence of Chinese culture on the Manchu language came to surpass the Mongol influence. In the Manchu text CCC, evidence abounds to support this point. For example, the title of the Manchu ruler was originally *beile* or *han* as found in early Manchu records, but it was later changed to *Huang-ti*, in imitation of the Chinese style. The term *beile* which appeared in early records became replaced by the Chinese *Wang*. The same is true of the title *fujin* (wife of *beile*) which yielded to *Huang-t'ai-hou*. Other official terminology in Manchu text records shows the same trend. For example, the name of a certain part of the imperial palace in Mukden, before the conquest of China was *genggiyen elhe gung* in Manchu, known also in Chinese as Ch'ing Ning Kung (Palace of Pure Serenity). In this case, the Chinese and Manchu terms are mutual semantic, but not phonetic, equivalents. That is, each corresponds to the meaning of the other, but neither is a transliteration of the other. However, after the imperial residence was moved to Peking, we find in the Manchu text CCC the term is obviously just a transliteration of the Chinese Ch'ien Ch'ing Kung (Palace of Heavenly Purity), without the least representation of the meaning of the Chinese title in the Manchu name. This indicates a progressively superficial and perfunctory maintenance of the Manchu side of the Ch'ing dynasty's system of dual nomenclature, under the influence of increasingly thorough Sinicization.

Numerous instances also occur in the Manchu texts of the use of the Chinese system of symbols called "t'ien-kan ti-chih" to record years and days. Further, many other Chinese name are found transliterated into Manchu script. In brief, these Manchu text CCC offer abundant materials for the study of the evolution of the Manchu language.

c) In regard to study of the Manchus and Ch'ing history: These Manchu text CCC are extremely valuable as historical sources for Ch'ing history. For example, on the 23rd day of the 9th month of the 10th year of the K'ang-hsi period, the emperor was in Mukden to sacrifice at the tomb of his ancestors. At that time his activities included practise of certain customs which reflect the original Manchu culture, such as drinking wine from a golden bowl with his officers, and conferring on them gifts such as horse saddles, swords, etc., and commanding them to engage in an archery contest. Detailed descriptions of these typical aspects of Manchu culture are only to be found in the Manchu text CCC, whereas the Chinese documents for this year lack evidence of this kind.

For the study of any given emperor, these materials are the ultimate first-hand source, more ample and more reliable than the *Shih-lu* and *Pen-chi*, both of which were compiled only after the emperor's death. These Manchu text CCC also contain direct transcriptions of many Manchu text memorials submitted to the emperors, including in many cases documents that would be omitted from the Chinese text archives, due to the extra inconvenience of translating.

In short, these CCC of the Ch'ing emperors are not only newly discovered Manchu materials, but are also extremely valuable for study of Manchu language itself and the history of Ch'ing China.

■ Source: Ch'en, Chieh-hsien, 'A study of the Manchu posthumous titles of the Ch'ing emperors', in *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 26, Nos. 3–4 (1982), Otto Harrassowitz, pp. 187–192.

A STUDY OF THE MANCHU POSTHUMOUS TITLES OF THE CH'ING EMPERORS

Ch'en Chieh-Hsien

According to the Chinese historical records, the practice of giving posthumous titles did not begin until the Chou dynasty (1122–255 BC). Distinguished people in Chou times used their own names when alive. However, since it was taboo to use those same names after they had died, they adopted a system of posthumous titles to refer to the dead. After the Wu Emperor of the Chou pacified the country and the Duke of Chou established the rites, he initiated the posthumous title system, and eventually it became established practice. Although Ch'in Shih Huang-ti abolished the system, the rulers of the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD) revived it. From then on, for over two thousand years, each Chinese dynasty, including the dynasties of the so-called "barbarians," the Liao, the Chin, and the Yüan, used the system of posthumous titles.

Originally the posthumous titles were used only as a means of reference, and the titles themselves had no positive or negative meaning. But eventually the titles began to reflect whether the deceased's conduct was judged to have been good or bad. Thus the posthumous titles became a succinct evaluation of the person's conduct, especially for emperors and famous ministers and generals.

The ancient Chinese historians all saw history as a means of instilling social values. Thus they praised the virtuous and criticized the evil. These historians felt their work would have lasting influence. The change in the nature of the posthumous titles gave them the same edifying purpose as that of the history books themselves: the judgment whether or not a man was morally upright stood as a lesson to succeeding generations.

According to Cheng Ch'iao's *T'ung Chih*, the posthumous titles were divided into three categories: favorable, middling, and critical. The favorable titles included 131 characters, such as *sheng* (sacred), *wen* (culture), *wu* (martial) and others. The middling titles used only 14 characters: including, *huai* and *yin* (both meaning something like full of promise). The critical titles used 65 characters including *huang* (dissipated), *yang* (impetuous) and so on. Those having posthumous titles were all eminent men, but the behavior or rule of those with critical titles was judged to be in some way deficient.

Each of the characters used had a set range of meanings. For example, the character *wen* in the favorable titles indicated more than ten attributes including high ability, moral rectitude, diligent scholarliness, extensive knowledge, and kindness to the people. If the holder of the title had one or more of these qualities, then he was qualified to have the character *wen* as his posthumous title. The explanation for the meaning of these characters remained largely consistent throughout the different dynasties, but the characters used during each dynasty were not exactly the same. It was possible for one man simultaneously to have two posthumous titles, in this case his moral rectitude or his contributions to the nation were particularly great. However, most of the posthumous titles contained only one character.

The Ch'ing dynasty was established by the Manchus. These "barbarians" had already adopted many aspects of the Chinese system, including the system of posthumous titles, before they took China proper. Because the Manchus had their own language, the posthumous titles were in both Manchu and Chinese. According to old Manchu archives, after the first emperor, Nurhaci, died, his son and successor Hong Taiji (or Abahai) gave his father a posthumous title in 1636. The character he selected at the time was the Manchu word *horonggo, wu* in Chinese; both mean "martial." This title reflected Nurhaci's military prowess as the founder of the dynasty.[1]

The second Manchu emperor, Hong Taiji, died on September 20, 1643. Less than two months later, on November 17, he was given the posthumous title *wen* (respectful of culture). The title *wen* referred to his extensive adaptations of Chinese cultural institutions. But his Manchu title consisted of two Manchu words: *genggiyen* and *su*. *Genggiyen* means "bright" and "clear," and so by extension, "perceptive" and *su* has the same meaning as the Chinese *wen*. This double title reveals that one word was not sufficient to describe all of his achievements.[2] Virtually none of the

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[1] *Ta-Ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu* (Veritable records of successive reigns of the Ch'ing dynasty): *T'ai-tsu (Nurhaci) kao-huang-ti shih-lu*, 10: 23b. Hong Taiji is commonly known in Western literature as Abahai. Because the origin of the name Abahai is unclear, I prefer to refer to him by the name Hong Taiji, which appears in the old Manchu documents.

[2] *Ta-Ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu: T'ai-tsung (Hong Taiji) shih-lu*, 65: 41b.

extant Chinese documents reveals the special implication of the two word title in Manchu.[3]

In early 1661, after the Shun-chih-Emperor died, some high-ranking officials discussed what posthumous title to confer. Some of them thought the title should be *Kao* (exalted) because, the Shun-chih-Emperor was the first Manchu ruler to govern China. Others thought that giving him the title *Kao* would imply that his merits surpassed those of his father Hong Taiji and his grandfather Nurhaci. Thus they selected *Chang* (glorious) rather than *Kao*.[4] His Manchu title was *eldembure*, which has the same meaning as *Chang* in Chinese. The title implied he had greatly clarified the law code and also that he had governed very carefully. At the same time they changed Nurhaci's posthumous title from the Manchu word *horrongo* to *dergi* (which means "exalted"), and the Chinese from *wu* to *kao*.[5]

The K'ang-hsi-Emperor was a distinguished ruler of the Ch'ing dynasty—in fact he ranks as one of the great emperors in Chinese history—who ruled sixty-one years. After he died, the ministers conferring the posthumous title felt that his political achievements were so numerous as to be indescribable. Because they felt he was the greatest emperor in Chinese history, they asked his son and successor the Yung-cheng-Emperor personally to select a posthumous title. He selected the title *jen* (mercy), because he thought that this character in its classical usage accurately described his father. In the Classics it is stated that the quality of *jen* is the base of righteousness, and the origin of *te* (virtue). The Classics also state that the *jen* of Emperor Yao was as great as that of heaven. The Yung-cheng-Emperor thought that only the K'ang-hsi-Emperor was great enough to be compared to the legendary Emperor Yao.[6] The Manchu title was the direct translation of the Chinese: *gosin*. In order to express both his respect for his father and also his grief at his death, on December 31, 1722, the Emperor Yung-cheng circled the posthumous title he had selected with the blood of his own middle finger.[7]

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[3] I have found only one such instance in which the two Chinese characters *wen* and *ming* were used to translate the original Manchu. This can be found in a manuscript entitled *Huang-Ch'ing t'ung-chih kang-yao* (An outline of the history of the early Ch'ing dynasty), 1: 1b. I obtained a xerox copy of this manuscript from the University of Melbourne Library; the original is in the Peking National Library.

[4] For details, see Men Shen *Ch'ing-tai shih* (History of the Ch'ing dynasty), p. 459, Taipei, 1960.

[5] *Ta-Ch'ing li-chao shih-lu: Sheng-tsu shih-lu.* 6: 18b.

[6] *Ch'ing-ch'ao wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* (Comprehensive investigation of historical documents for the Ch'ing dynasty), 109: 5803, Shanghai, 1934.

[7] Ibid., 109: 5804; *Ta-Ch'ing li-chao shih-lu: Shih-tsung shih-lu*, 1: 29a.

After the Yung-cheng-Emperor died, the Ch'ien-lung-Emperor, following established precedent, ordered his ministers and the Manchu princes to select the posthumous title to give to his father. On October 24, 1735, they convened. They all thought the Yung-cheng-Emperor had governed well. He had ended the factional infighting in the court, had wiped out corruption in the government, and had had a positive influence on both the gentry and the common people. Because all these achievements were related to his reform of the legal system and of the government, the ministers chose the title *hsien* (law) for him, based on the usage in the Classic, the Chung-yung (the Golden Mean). Therein (a sage), modelled himself on the Emperor Wu and Wen of the Chou dynasty. In the opinion of the ministers, the Yung-cheng-Emperor had established so many good legal and governmental precedents that his successors only had to follow up his initiatives to succeed. The title also was linked to his father's. As *jen* (mercy) characterized the rule of the Emperor Yao, and *hsien* (law) characterized the rule of his son, rhe Emperor Shun; so too *jen* characterized the rule of K'ang-hsi, and *hsien* that of his son, the Yung-cheng-Emperor.[8] The posthumous title also hints that the Yung-cheng-Emperor was harsh. The Manchu posthumous title for the Yung-cheng-Emperor was *temgetulehe*, also meaning "law."

After the Ch'ien-lung Emperor, the posthumous titles conferred on the Ch'ing Emperors were all similar to those of K'ang-hsi and Yung-cheng. The first step was for the princes and ministers to meet and discuss a suitable title and then to find the original usage of the character in the Chinese Classics. These titles all consisted of only one character. The Manchu title was always translated from the Chinese. The titles of the successor emperors are as follows:

(1) The posthumous title of the Ch'ien-lung-Emperor was the Chinese *Shun* (perfect). The Manchu was *yongkiyangga*.
(2) The posthumous title of the Chia-ch'ing-Emperor was the Chinese *jui* (wise). The Manchu word was *sunggiyen*.
(3) The posthumous title of the Tao-kuang-Empcror was the Chinese *ch'eng* (accomplished). The Manchu was *šanggan*.
(4) The posthumous title of the Hsien-feng-Emperor was the Chinese *hsien* (manifest). The Manchu was *iletu*.

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[8] *Ch'ing-chao wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao*, 109: 4814.

(5) The posthumous title of the Tung-chih-Emperor was the Chinese *mu* (majestic). The Manchu was *filingga*.
(6) The posthumous title of the Kuang-hsü-Emperor was the Chinese *ching* (grand). The Manchu was *ambalinggû*.[9]

From the above brief discussion we can draw three conclusions. First, the system of posthumous titles was first invented and implemented by the Chinese people and has a history of over two thousand years. In the seventeenth century, at the end of the Ming dynasty, the cultural level of the Manchu tribe was not high. Originally the Manchus did not use the system of posthumous titles. Only after they had had more contact with the Chinese people and the boundaries of the empire were fixed, did they adopt this system of the Han Chinese people. From the later Chin dynasty to the fall of the Ch'ing (1616–1911), each Manchu emperor received a posthumous title—in both Manchu and Chinese.

Secondly, the early posthumous titles of the Manchu emperors were modeled on the Han system. Yet because both the emperor himself as well as the officials in the central government did not have a deep understanding of Chinese culture, they did not select the characters they used in the posthumous titles according to traditional Chinese practice. It was during this period that they gave Nurhaci the title *wu* or *horonggo* in Manchu. The process of sinification continued until it peaked during the reigns of K'ang-hsi and Yung-cheng. At this time the princes and high officials together selected a title and then defined the character as it was used in the Chinese Classics.

Thirdly, the practices of changing Nurhaci's posthumous title and of giving Hong Taiji a two-word Manchu posthumous title were largely unprecedented. We cannot find the Manchu names of the Ch'ing emperors anywhere in the works of Ch'ing officials or of private scholars. We can find these Manchu names only in the Manchu histories compiled by the central government as well as in archival materials: for example, in the *Ch'ing Shih-lu* (the Veritable Records of Ch'ing dynasty), in the *Pen-chi* (the Basic Annals), and in the *Chi-chü-chu* (Notes on daily activities of Ch'ing Emperors). Except for the Ch'ing archives of the National

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[9] The Manchu titles for emperors before the Kuang-hsü reign may be found in various Manchu documents, such as in the Manchu *Shih-lu*. But for Kuang-hsü, because the Revolution followed his death by only three years, the documents were not prepared and thus this title is very difficult to find except in the manuscripts that recorded the emperor's affairs on a daily basis, *Ch'i-chü-chu* held in the National Palace Museum in Taipei.

Palace Museum in Taipei, there is no library or museum, including the British Museum, the Bibliotheque Nationale, the Library of Congress, and the Toyo Bunko where one can find these kinds of materials that enable us to understand the Manchu posthumous titles of the Ch'ing emperors. This is one of the reasons I selected the topic for this Conference.

In conclusion, the institutions of the Ch'ing were not originally Manchu. They were adopted only after coming into contact with the Han Chinese people, and were subsequently implemented. This concrete example of the signification process of the Manchus may help us to better understand the cultural changes that result when a nomadic people meets urban dwellers.

■ Source: Ch'en, Chieh-hsien, 'The value of "THE EARLY MANCHU ARCHIVES"', in Ch'en Chieh-hsien (ed.), *Proceedings of International Ch'ing Archives Symposium*, July 2, 1978–July 6, 1978, Taipei, China, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1982, pp. 42–65. *Proceedings of the third East Asian Altaistic Conference.* August 17–24, 1969, Taipei, China (RoC). pp. 58–77.

THE VALUE OF *"THE EARLY MANCHU ARCHIVES"*

Ch'en Chieh-hsien

It is an honor to present this morning a brief summary of some research which I have recently carried out. This study has concerned the documents of Ch'ing dynasty which brought from the China mainland, and now held at the National Palace Museum in Taipei. Many of these documents have not yet been examined in depth by scholars, and the opportunity to step into uncharted territory is very stimulating, as one may imagine.

These documents have previously given the title *Lao-man-wen Yuan-tang* (老滿文原檁 *Original Archives in Old Manchu*). On the basis of my recent investigations, however, I have proposed a new name for these archives, that is: *Chiu Man-chou Tang* (CMCT 舊満洲標), or in English: *Early Manchu Archives*. The reason for proposing this new name is the following: the 40 volumes of these archives contain not only materials in the old style of Manchu, but also others in the new style as well. Therefore, I have felt that the title *Chiu Man-chou Tang* is less ambiguous than the title *Lao-man-wen Yuan-tang*, which might be thought to suggest that all the materials are in the old style of the language.

This *Chiu Man-chou Tang* is an extremely valuable source material for three fields of study: First, for early Manchu history, because the archive is approximately 350 years old, and is therefore the oldest extantest of Manchu documents. Since its records cover the years from 1607 to 1636, we can learn much about events during the pre-dynastic and early dynastic period. On the other hand, the authors of later official documents in many cases revised, glossed over, or otherwise obscured the facts of the early period.

Second, the *Chiu Man-chou Tang* is very useful to us in the area of bibliography, since it is the original source from which certain well known Ch'ien-lung period editions were prepared (the so-called "*Man-wen Lao-tang*", 滿文老檔, *the Secret Chronicles of the Manchu Dynasty*), and can therefore serve us well as a check against the omissions and errors contained in those later versions.

Third, the *Chiu Man-chou Tang* can be of value in the area of linguistics, since it contains not only materials written in the new style of Manchu which uses circles and dots as indicators of pronunciation, but also other materials written in the old style, without the circles and dots. Thus, the development of the Manchu language can be illuminated by study and comparison of the grammatical and stylistic usages found in this early source.

In the three sections which follow, I shall discuss, in greater detail, certain specific problems in relation to which the *Chiu Man-chou Tang* proves its value as an indispensible material.

Turning first to the area of history, I have selected three specific problems as examples of the usefulness of the *CMCT*. These problems are: 1) Clarifying the basic facts of early Manchu history. 2) The understanding of certain special terms in the Manchu language. 3) Conditions of local government, economy and taxation in the Liao-tung area under late Ming and early Manchu administrations.

Problem number one: Regarding early Manchu history: in contrast to the inadequacy and incompleteness of later histories for research in the predynastic phase of Manchu history, the CMCT is both ample and detailed in its record of this period. Any number of important topics which one might want to research can be profitably investigated in the pages of the CMCT. For example: The Banner System, war records, administrative affairs, legal codes, lists of officials in office, economic activities, social customs, foreign relations, internal struggles, notable scandals, and others. Due to limitations of time, I shall mention only four passages from the CMCT which may aid us in drawing a picture of the historical facts surrounding the question of Imperial succession in Nurhaci's time.

Example A: In an entry dated in correspondence to the year 1613, the CMCT relates that Nurhaci decided to prepare his eldest son *Argatu Tumen* (Cuyeng 褚英) for succession to the throne, by placing him in charge of certain important government functions. This man was the eldest son of Nurhaci's legel wife. However, it is recorded that Nurhaci made this decision only after overcoming certain initial doubts about the suitability of this son's character for such a position of leadership. And, indeed, shortly afterward, Nurhaci was compelled to remove *Argatu Tumen* from office, due to the complaints of mistreatment which were brought forward by four of Nurhaci's younger sons and by five trusted ministers. After this time, Argatu Tumen was kept in the capital under the surveillance of his brother, *Guyeng Baturu* (daišan 代善), who was the second son of the legal wife.[1]

Example B: In a passage corresponding to a date seven years later, in 1620, it is recorded that Nurhaci became aware, through reports and investigations of his officials, that his concubine had engaged in a secretive and dubious liason with *Guyeng Baturu*, the second son of Nurhaci's legel wife. Before this time, Nurhaci had already become disposed to groom this Guyeng Baturu as his successor, but this episode of shady relations with the concubine imperiled that Prince's position as potential successor. The concubine was separate and sent to her home.[2]

Example C: Under an entry for the following year, a date equivalent to 1621, records are found in the CMCT which show that a certain official in a sensitive position had accepted bribes from four of Nurhaci's younger sons, each apparently scheming to gain the role of successor for himself.[3]

Example D: Two years later, in 1623, so the CMCT tells us, Nurhaci rebukes his son *Hong Taiji* (Abahai 皇太極), who, though not the eldest surviving son, had nevertheless already made himself a leading aspirant for the succession, which he ultimately gained, as Ch'ing T'ai-tsung. In fact, Hong Taiji had apparently become so sure of his position that he did not trouble any longer to conceal his arrogance, and treated even his own elder brothers with contempt. It was for this that Nurhaci scolded him.[4]

To summarize these four incidents, which are found in the CMCT, we see that they shed new and fascinating light on the circumstances surrounding the question of imperial succession in the late years of Nurhaci's reign, and that the information from the Ch'ing official records stating that Nurhaci appointed no one to succeed him, is not accurate.

Problem number two: Understanding of certain special terms in the Manchu language: Throughout the Ch'ing dynasty, certain terms and official titles were in common use which had been translated into Chinese from a Manchu original. Although the pronunciation of these terms is reliably known, their meaning in many cases has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Chinese and foreign scholars over the past several decades have studied the origins and meanings of some of these words through the use of certain later sources, but none has yet employed predynastic period sources. In regard to such terms, which include the words "manju" (滿洲), "aisin gioro" (愛新覺羅), "beile" (貝勒), and others, definite conclusions have been reached in some cases, while others remain unsure, and still others are altogether unclear.

For the moment, let us consider the following problem: Two Chinese language sources record essentially similar versions of the incident in which the grandfather and father of Nurhaci lost their lives. In both Chinese language accounts of this incident, the man responsible for the death of Nurhaci's father and grandfather is referred to by a four syllable term. In the earlier of these two sources, this term is written *Ni-k'ang Wai-lang* (見康外郎).[5] In the second source, written at a later date, the term is given as *Ni-k'an Wai-lan* (汔堪外蘭).[6] The late Prof. Meng Sen (孟森), distinguished historian of the Ch'ing Dynasty considered that this term refers to the son of a military officer of a certain rank. Moreover, he also considers that the more sophisticated authors of the later text deliberately altered the Chinese characters used to transcribe the Manchu word, in order to emphasize the absence of any relation to the traditional Chinese official title *Wai-lang* (外郎). Unfortunately, Prof. Meng did not indicate on what source he relied for this judgement.[7]

First, we notice that *Ni-k'an* is simply the Manchu word meaning "Han Chinese" (*nikan*) and the word *Wai-lang* means "Secretary" (*wailan*).[8] Moreover, in that special volume of the CMCT which contains the translations of Chinese characters *Wai-lang* translates into Manchu as "*baksi*", a word which the Manchu borrowed from the Mongol language, and which is an honorific title for a secretary or scribe.[9] Accordingly, we learn that such activities as creation of language, translation of Chinese Classics into Manchu, handling of documents relating to foreign affairs, and the like were handled by men known in later Manchu texts as *baksi*. The official function of the *baksi* is obviously almost identical to that of *wailan*.

In short, information in the CMCT allows us to conclude that the terms *Ni-k'ang Wai-lang* (足屎外即) and *Ni-k'an Wai-lan* (見堪外蘭) in the later Chinese texts both mean "a Chinese secretary", and do not represent the personal name of a military officer's son.

A third problem in the area of history where the CMCT is of relevance concerns the question of local government and economic conditions in the Liao-tung area under late Ming control. Due to the scarcity of paper, the Manchus used the Ming official documents on which to write parts of the CMCT, after they had seized certain cities in Liao-tung, and so we benefit from this fortunate accident of history. For there are valuable records on such issues quite unrelated to the text of the CMCT as for example, division of late Ming administrative districts, forms used for official documents, appointment and transfer of officials, military rolls, cases of brawling and dispute, debt records, charts used in preparing official autopsy reports, records of criminal sentences, compensation paid for death of a relative in war, charity to the poor, and others.

In particular, very extensive and exact information on economic conditions can be obtained through study of the records, scattered throughout many pages, which indicate current prices for articles of daily use, and the tax levied on many of these goods, during the late Ming period.[10]

This completes the first major section of my paper, that dealing with early Manchu history. We have seen that study of several problems relating to certain important institutions of late Ming and early Ch'ing times is greatly aided by use of the old materials found in the CMCT.

The second major area in which the CMCT is of value to us is textual history, or bibliography. More than a century after compilation of the *Chiu Man-chou Tang*, during the Ch'ien-lung reign period a new edition was produced in which those archieves originally written in the old style of Manchu script were transcribed into the new style script, adding circles and dots. At the same time an exact copy of the original text was made, but we will not discuss it further here.

After about another century, in Kuang-hsü times, Japanese scholars found the version which had been transcribed into new Manchu script in the palace at Mukden, and they called this new Manchu script version, dating from Ch'ien-lung times, by the title *Man-wen Lao-tang* (滿文老檔) or in English, Secret Chronicles of the Manchu Dynasty.

Modern Japanese scholars at Toyo Bunku have in turn transinbed the Ch'ien-lung edition into a romanized version. This romanized third edition is a great aid to us in understanding the orthographic conventions used in the original old style portions of the CMCT.

In the present section, I shall discuss how the CMCT may be used as a check against errors and omissions found in the text of the Ch'ien-lung period recopied version, the *Man-wen Lao-tang*. First, in the matter of errors in the *Man-wen Lao-tang*, aside from those due to haste in the copying process, another type is due to misinterpretations by scribes of the later period, who failed to recognize certain old orthographic styles. When we now read the CMCT, it is very easy to identify such misreadings of handwriting, as the following examples will show:

1. The term "duka amban", translated as "high officials of the gate", is found in the *Man-wen Lao-tang* as a misreading of the term "duin amban", meaning "four high officials", which is found in the corresponding section of the CMCT.[11]
2. A second misreading is this: the term "siidafi", found in the *Man-wen Lao-tang* entry for 1629, is apparently meaningless. However, the corresponding word in the CMCT is "sindabi", which we know means "let loose", or "released."[12]

3. A third example is found in the *Man-wen Lao-tang* entry for 1630, wherein the term "holho" occurs apparently a place name. But no such place can be found, and indeed, we find that the problem is solved by the CMCT, which reads "solho", meaning "Korea".[13]

In addition to correcting errors in the *Man-wen Lao-tang*, the text of the CMCT serves as a valuable aid in determining the exact degree of incompleteness obtaining when omissions occur in the *Man-wen Lao-tang*.

The CMCT was already more than a century old by Ch'ien-lung times, and so, when scribes of that time were recopying it, they often came across places where the effects of time had rendered the original text illegible. In these cases, they simply pasted a yellow slip of paper into the corresponding place in the recopied text, with no indication of the exact extent of the deficiency found in the original. Thus, reading only the *Man-wen Lao-tang*, it is often difficult to know how much of the CMCT has been left out.

A second type of omission in the *Man-wen Lao-tang* occured due to the taboo during later times on speaking or writing the personal names of Nurhaci and Hong taiji. So the copyists of the Ch'ien-lung edition also used a yellow slip in their version, to indicate places where one of these imperial names had occured in the CMCT, even though the original text might still be quite legible.

A third cause also led to omissions in the recopied edition, that is, carelessness of the Ch'ien-lung period copyists, who, when the particular volume of the CMCT from which they were copying was defective, at times failed to consult other volumes of the CMCT for cross-reference on the same subject. We now, by conscientious use of the early materials, can supply many of these omissions.[14]

In short, then, the CMCT is the only available early source for checking various types of omissions and errors found throughout later texts, such as the *Man-wen Lao-tang*. At the same time, we recognize the value of the *Man-wen Lao-tang*, and its romanized transcription, as an indispensible guide to the pronunciation of the original old script materials in the CMCT.

The third area in which the CMCT can be of great value is historical linguistics, and through study of documents in the CMCT we may learn much about the development of the Manchu script from old style to new style. Tendencies evident already in the evolution from old Manchu script to new script, as seen in the pages of the CMCT, may also be projected on a larger time span, to show us the direction of certain intellectual trends over the longer course of Manchu history.

In this section of my paper, I shall make two general types of comparison. The first is a purely linguistic comparison of the old Manchu script materials in the CMCT as against the new Manchu script materials in the CMCT. A second type of comparison is a stylistic comparison taking the materials from the CMCT as against later versions of the same materials, especially those found in the Ch'ien-lung period edition, *Man-wen Lao-tang*.

Through both of these comparisons, we may observe that whether it be purely linguistic matters such as orthography, phonetics, or grammatical usages, or, on the other hand, whether we speak of stylistic issues involving the use of titles, the format of records, or the choice of vocabulary—in either case there is a decided trend away from crudity, simplicity, naivete, and toward sophistication, ornateness, and even, as we shall see, toward greater historical self-consciousness.

In the following subsections, I shall discuss in greater detail the general outline described above. First, I shall discuss purely linguistic issues. I should also say that I am not a specialist in linguistics, and my remarks are those of an amateur observer.

The old Manchu script evolved out of the Mongol script, which it resembles very much in appearance. Both of them are of course based exclusively on phonetic principles, without any ideographic value, as in Chinese. Some scholars think that the Manchu and Mongol scripts are ultimately derived from the Syriac script, which was an internationally used mode of communication in the ancient Middle East. After the old Manchu script had been in use for about thirty years, there remained a number of problems of orthography, due to the inadequacy of the early script to represent the full range of sounds found in the spoken language. Therefore, a reform was carried out, whereby certain orthographic conventions were altered, based on a more sophisticated phonetic and grammatical analysis than that implicit in the old script. In the following subsections, I shall mention some of the more noteworthy of these changes:

1. The use of circles and dots as diacritical marks. In the old script, several members of a phonetic series were often crudely represented by a common graph, so that for example, the two words *"aga"* meaning "rain", and *"aha"* meaning "slave" were written identically. The resulting ambiguity was resolved by using circles and dots to distinguish members of the same phonetic series. Thus, in the glottal series, the sound *"ka"* was left unmarked, while *"ga"* was indicated by adding a dot, and *"ha"* by adding a circle. Other common examples of pairs written ambiguously

in the old script are: "*haga*" meaning "fishbone" and "hana" meaning "male"; also there is "*boigon*" meaning "household" and "*boihon*" meaning "clay, earth or land".

2. A second type of orthographic ambiguity occuring in the old script was opposite to the type just described above. That is, in this second type, a single word was written in various ways, simply through crude lack of adherence to a uniform standard of writing. The conventions of orthography were much more uniformly followed in the new script, and it is therefore much easier to read. This deficiency in the old script is particularly significant, since even personal names, place names, and official titles often fail to maintain a standard spelling throughout the old script portions of the CMCT.
3. A third orthographic change in the new script, which reflects greater phonetic sophistication, is the addition of ten new letters specifically for use in writing Chinese words, since Chinese contains sounds foreign to the phonetic system of Manchu speech. Specifically, Manchu lacks the retroflex and dental sibilants found in Chinese. Therefore, the Chinese word "tsui" (罪) was rendered as "sui" in old Manchu. Or again, the Chinese words "cho" (涿) and "tsu" (祖) were both transcribed as "*so*" in old Manchu. Other examples of this type are too numerous to mention.

   In order to eliminate this defect, and to increase the accuracy of records and of pronunciation, the following sounds were each assigned a new graph for use in transcribing Chinese words: "k'", "g'", "h'", "ts'", "ts", "dz'", "dz", "sy", "cy", and "jy".
4. A fourth orthographic change is the reduction of certain double vowels in old Manchu to single vowels in the new script. This applies not only in the case of certain borrowed Chinese words, but also in the case of non-Chinese vocabulary. Such as:

Old style of Manchu	New style of Manchu	Meaning
buu	bu	give
guu	gu	aunt
hoo	ho	river
hoose	hose	box
loose	lose	a mule
tuu	tu	flag

5. A fifth orthographic change was that whereby certain occurences of double consonants in the old script were reduced to a single consonant in the new. Such as:

Old style of Manchu	New style of Manchu	Meaning
batta	bata	an enemy
tuttala	tutala	those
uttala	utala	these

6. The sixth orthographic change was also a reduction of a superfluous letter. This time it is the letter "*u*", which had been placed before certain words in the old script. These words always began with the syllable "*we*". The reasons for originally adding this "*u*" before such words are not entirely clear, but it seems likely that the "*u*" serves as a phonetic discriminant between the two spoken syllables "*we*" and "*wa*", which were otherwise written identically in the old script. After the addition of circles and dots in the new script, the "*u*" was rendered superfluous, and fell out of use. For example, the two words "*wesihun*" and "*wasihun*" were written identically in the old script, apart from the use of "*u*" before "*we*". The importance of using this prefixed vowel is made clear when we note that the meanings of these two words are exactly contrary: "*wasihūn*" means "down" or "to descend", whereas "*wesihun*" means "above" or "to rise".
7. The seventh type of orthographic change is that whereby the syllable "bi" in the old script became written as "fi" in the new. This phenomenon is especially frequent in the final syllables of verbs, since "bi" in the old script denotes the past tense of verbs. In fact, some scholars have thought that the difference between these two final syllables is exclusively a matter of verbal tense. However, study of the old script materials in the CMCT reveals that this kind of change occurs not only in verbs, but also in other classes of words, and further, that the altered syllable may stand at the head, or in the middle, of a word. Such as:

Old style of Manchu	New style Manchu	Meaning
bi	fi	a pen
biongdon	fiongdon	(a personal name)
jabiyan	jaifiyan	(a place name)
taibin	taifin	peace

A closely related case is that in which the two sounds "f" and "b" are sometimes used indiscriminately and interchangeably in the old script, both of them changing to "p" in the new. In my opinion, future studies of the relations between these three letters, which are all members of the same phonetic series, should be conducted in the light of knowledge about Mongolian, since, in Mongol, the letter "b" is used very frequently, while "p" is relatively uncommon, and "f", then, is often substituted by "p".

8. The eighth type of orthographic change is that which concerns the grammatical analysis of postpositional particles. These, and interjections, were often written in old Manchu as the final syllable of the word to which they were grammatically related, but in the new script, they were written separately, and in some cases, even omitted entirely.

A related point is that, in old Manchu, addition of the postpositive particle "be" to a noun ending in the letter "n" caused that "n" to be written as "m", by assimilation to the following "b". Such as:

Old style Manchu	New style Manchu
ambambe	amban be
gisumbe	gisun be
ihambe	ihan be
morimbe	morin be

In the new script, this assimilation does not occur, as the particle is written separately.

This concludes my remarks on specific points of orthographic change arising from the more advanced phonetic and grammatical analysis which lay behind the reform of the Manchu script.

Turning next to matters of style, we note first that those pages of the CMCT written in the old script are distinguished by the general crudity of the handwriting and frequency of erasures and deletions. At the other extreme are later varieties of the new script, which, under the influence of Chinese culture, in later periods developed several different styles of graphs, including a standard style, a cursive style, and even a number of seal styles.

Not only is the form of the graphs used in the old script portions of the CMCT comparatively primitive, but in regard to the format of records and the diction used, the writing is generally naive and direct.

For example, in recording dates or other information, the CMCT sometimes includes superfluous material. Two cases in point are: First, in the Ch'ien-lung period edition, the *Man-wen Lao-tang*, a certain date in the 41st year of the Wan-li period is recorded as follows: "12th month, 25th day". But, on the other hand, in the CMCT, a superfluous sentence is added: "*ineku tere ihan aniya*" (This is also the year of the Ox). A second case in point is the record of the military office held by a Li Yung-fang (李永芳): As recorded in the CMCT, it is "*hecen i ejen iogi hergen i hafan*". This is an unnecessarily redundant expression, equivalent to saying in English: "An official who holds the office which is Major in the Army and Chief of the City". The conventional format followed in later times by the authors of the *Man-wen Lao-tang* is simply "*hecen i ejen jogi*" which means "Chief of the City and Major in the Army".

Old script records of this kind, containing superfluous or redundant expressions were written at a time when conventions of style had not been fixed, and scribes might deviate without very good reason. Such cases are due to ignorance, and are different from the kind of ornateness of style that later became widely used in official records.

In another example, the CMCT refers to men who were sent by Nurhaci on an important mission simply as "four men", or "*duin niyalma*". However, the *Man-wen Lao-tang* refers to them as "high officials", that is "*duin amban*", in Manchu.

Another example concerns the diction used when the Emperor speaks: In general, the old Manchu records of the CMCT use the word "*hendume*", a common verb meaning simply "to say", when recording the Emperor's statements. However, archives of later times use the very "*hese*", meaning "to decree", "to pronounce", or "to command", in this sort of situation.

A final point in regard to the stylistic development of Manchu writing also shows a trend toward greater sophistication, as growth of Manchu race consciousness. In predynastic times, the Manchus were intimately involved in political and cultural relations with the Mongols, and not only the Mongol script was adapted to Manchu use, but also a large number of Mongol words were accepted into the vocabulary of old script documents found in the CMCT. After creation of the new script, however, Mongol words were no longer used in Manchu texts. Still, other Mongol words remained in the language, such as "gobi" meaning "desert", "han" meaning "khan", and "sain" meaning "good", as well as others.

But the influence of Chinese vocabulary on Manchu was even greater, and it has been estimated by scholars that fully one-third of the entries in certain Manchu dictionaries are related to Chinese. However, words originally borrowed from Chinese were subjected to change in later times, as the more self-conscious Manchus sought to purify their language.

(1) The first type of such change was elimination of certain unnecessary Chinese words, such as "janenguwan" (掌印官), "suban" (書辦) and others.

(2) A second kind of change was substitution of a native word as a true translation of a Chinese concept, to replace a previously used direct phonetic transcription of the Chinese word for that concept. For example, the husband of Manchu Nobles' daughter was at first written "*fuma*" (駙馬) in Manchu, and was later written "*efu*".

(3) A third type of change in vocabulary was achieved by altering the final syllable of certain Chinese loan words, in order to make them conform more nearly to the phonetic patterns of native Manchu vocabulary. Therefore, the early borrowing "ing-tao" (樓桃) meaning "cherry" becomes "ing tari" and likewise the loan word for "apple", which in old Manchu was "*pinggu*" (蘋果), becomes "*pingguri*" in later times. This is a kind of partial assimilation of foreign vocabulary to native phonetic principles.

(4) The fourth kind of change in vocabulary was creation of certain entirely new words to stand for borrowed concepts, originally referred to by borrowed words that were later suppressed. For example, the names of official titles in early Manchu style usually follow the Ming dynasty usage. But in the *Man-chou Shih-lu*, certain new Manchu terms appear, such as "*gusai ejen*", "*meiren ejen*", and "jalan *ejen*" etc.

To summarize this section on linguistic development, we can see that the CMCT is a very valuable source for study of the evolution of the Manchu script, and the related problems of phonetic and grammatical analysis, as well as for study of general stylistic development.

* * *

In short the results of my study of the *Chiu Man-chou Tang*. I have found that this early text is an extremely valuable source of materials for study in three areas relating to the early Ch'ing period. These areas are: institutional history, textual history, and linguistic evolution.

In fact, the full extent of the usefulness of the *Chiu Man-chou Tang* has not been demonstrated by the few examples which I have raised here. Fortunately, in the early part of this month, the CMCT has been published, and we hope very sincerely that scholars of all nations will hasten to make use of it in their researches, that we may all, at some time in the near future, arrive at a commonly accepted picture of the basic features of the early Manchu periods.

Notes

1. CMCT, 舊滿洲標 (National Palace Museum, Taipei) (I) pp. 58–68.
2. Ibid. (I) pp. 518–520.
3. Ibid. (II) pp. 794–795.
4. Ibid. (V) p. 2055.
5. Ch'ing-t'ai-tsu Wu-huang-ti Shih-lu 清大祖武皇帝實錄 1: 4a.
6. Ta-ch'ing tai-tsu kao-huang-ti Shih-lu 大清太祖高直帝實錄 1: 9a–10b.
7. Meng Shen 孟森, Ming-ch'ing-shih lun-chu Chi-kan 明清史論著集刊 p. 185, (Shih-chieh Book Co. Taipei).
8. See *Yü-shih Ch'ing-wen-chien* (御製清文鑑, Dictionary of Manchu, written by Emperor); C*h'ing-wen hui-shu* (清文彙書, collected Manchu Book).
9. CMCT (IV) pp. 1695–1750.
10. Ibid. (II), (III), (IV) and (V).
11. Ibid. (VI) p. 2860.
12. Ibid. (VI) p. 2930.
13. Ibid. (VII) p. 3348.
14. Chao-lien 昭槤 Hsiao-t'ing tsa-lu 嘯亭雜錄 2: 176; Ta-ch'ing Kao-tsung Shun-huang-ti Shih-lu 大清高宗純皇帝實錶 1362: 2a and 1388: 28a.

■ Source: Walravens, Hartmut, '"Tribute-bearers in Manchu and Chinese": A unique 18th-century source for East and Central Asian history', in *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (1996), pp. 395–406.

'TRIBUTE-BEARERS IN MANCHU AND CHINESE'. A UNIQUE 18TH-CENTURY SOURCE FOR EAST AND CENTRAL ASIAN HISTORY

Hartmut Walravens

Illustrations of foreigners have a long tradition in China. As to strangers from abroad we already find an account of the 6th century, the *Chih-kung t'u*, 'Illustrations of Tribute-Bearers' of the Liang dynasty.[1] Foreign trade was largely conducted under the name of tribute—this flattered the Chinese view of their superior culture but was also advantageous to the foreigners. Their presents to the throne were usually amply compensated, and permission was given to sell the foreign goods. Strangers from within the Chinese borders, non-Han peoples, were illustrated in albums, usually called Miao Albums[2] in spite of the fact that many other nationalities were depicted. They seem to have been quite popular for about 200 years, and as they also appealed to Europeans who were not able to read Chinese a number of them found their ways into Western museums and libraries.

The two traditions of *chih-kung t'u* and Miao Albums are closely connected. They share many of the tribes illustrated and the explanatory matter seems to have been derived from the same or similar sources. The main difference seems to have been the possible use—the Miao Albums served as a source of information about the curious and strange customs of the tribes in the South-western part of China while the *chih-kung t'u* was more comprehensive in coverage and was designed to be an illustrated handbook for the court.

While there are no Manchu versions of Miao Albums known, the *Huang Ch'ing chih-kung t'u* is a beautiful work which offers the descriptions in both Chinese and Manchu. We may safely assume that there used to be handbooks on tribute-bearers also dining some other dynasties of Chinese

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[1] Cf. Chin Wei-no. Chih-kung t'u-ti shih-tai yü tso-cho. *Wen-wu* 1960: 7. 14–17; Enoki Kazuo, 'Liang chih-kung t'u' ni tsuite. *Tôhôgaku* 26 (1963) 31–46.

[2] Cf. H. Bräutigam, Über Miao-Alben. *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 9 (1963) 284–298, plates; the latest study is: Vladimir Liscak, Miao albums and their study. In: *Studien zur Kulturgeschichte Chinas*. Dresden 1992, 67–72.

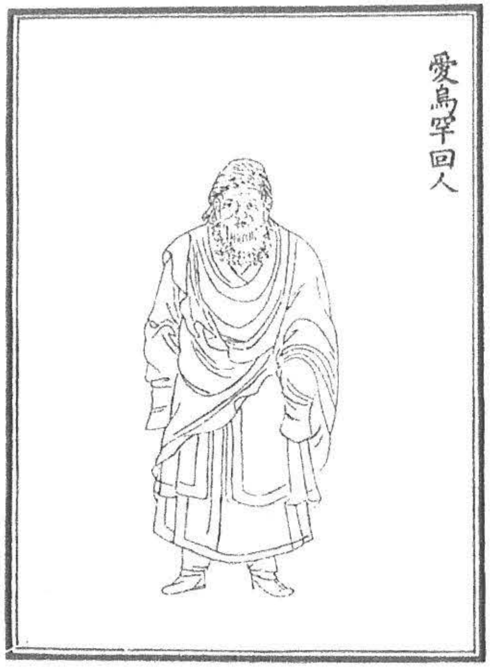


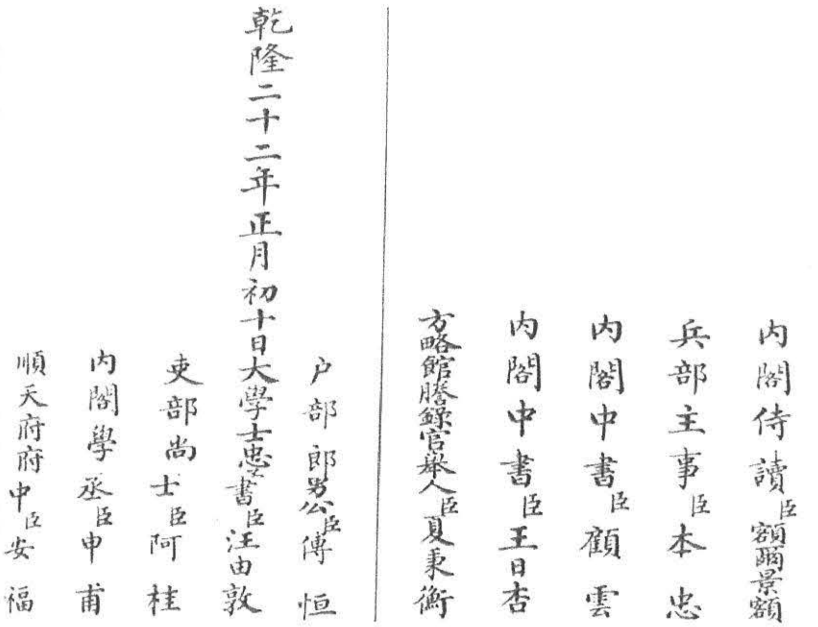
Figure 1. Afghans (Huang Ch'ing chih-kung t'u, ed. Szu-k'u ch'üan-shu, Shen-yan 1991).

history but they do have not. So far only two examples of this genre are known—the Liang and the Ch'ing *chih-kung t'u.*

When going through the historical sources we find rather confusing information about several scroll paintings, an album, a manuscript and a printed edition all of which do not seem to be identical in contents. The emperor himself ordered the preparation of the work by decree:

"On the first day at the beginning of the sixth month, in the 16th year of the Ch'ien-lung era [1751] the Grand Secretary Fu-heng, Duke of Chung-yung ('Loyalty and Bravery'), received an imperial command:

After our Dynasty has unified the Empire, the foreigners and strangers from within and outside our borders show their loyalty and turn to Chinese culture. Their clothing and their appearance is different in each case. Therefore proclamations be sent to the provincial governors to have the dress and finery of the Miao, Yao, Li and Chuang that belong to their region and also the foreigners from abroad painted and these illustrations forwarded to the State Council where they will be critically edited and presented to the Emperor for perusal.



內閣侍讀臣額爾景額
兵部主事臣本忠
內閣中書臣顧雲
內閣中書臣王日杏
方略館謄錄官舉人臣夏秉衡

户部郎男公臣傅恒
乾隆二十二年正月初十日大學士忠書臣汪由敦
吏部尚士臣阿桂
內閣學丞臣申甫
順天府府中臣安福

Figures 2.a–2.b. Editorial commission of the Huang Ch'ing chih-kung t'u album (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).

To reach the abundance of the *Wang-hui*[-*t'u*][3] the governors are requested regarding the bordering areas to wait for the traffic of public events and take this opportunity to have the portraits done. It is not necessary to send special envoys. In order to speed up the memorials you may publicize this decree. Obey this command!"

Already during the previous year the Emperor had sent an order to Cereng, governor of Szechuan, to have non-Chinese tribes painted. In the 8th month of 1751 Cereng sent two pictures to the State Council, In the 11th month the governor of Hunan sent pictures. Then Cereng sent another 24 pictures. Apparently by 1757 the material was ready for imperial inspection. From a memorial which is part of an album version we learn under the 10th day of the first month of the 22nd year of the Ch'ien-lung era (1757) that altogether 550 pictures in 12 *ts'e* had been arranged according to provinces. One man and one woman of each tribe or nationality had been painted, with an explanatory text in Chinese and Manchu added.

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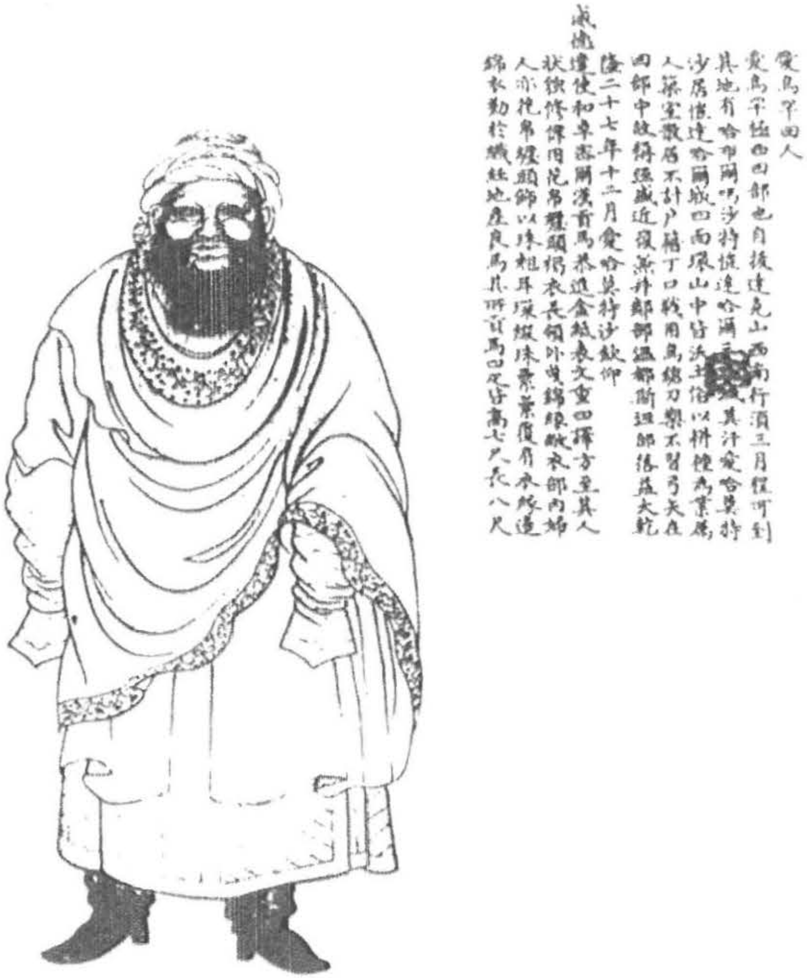
[3] A painting by the celebrated T'ang painter Yen Li-pen.



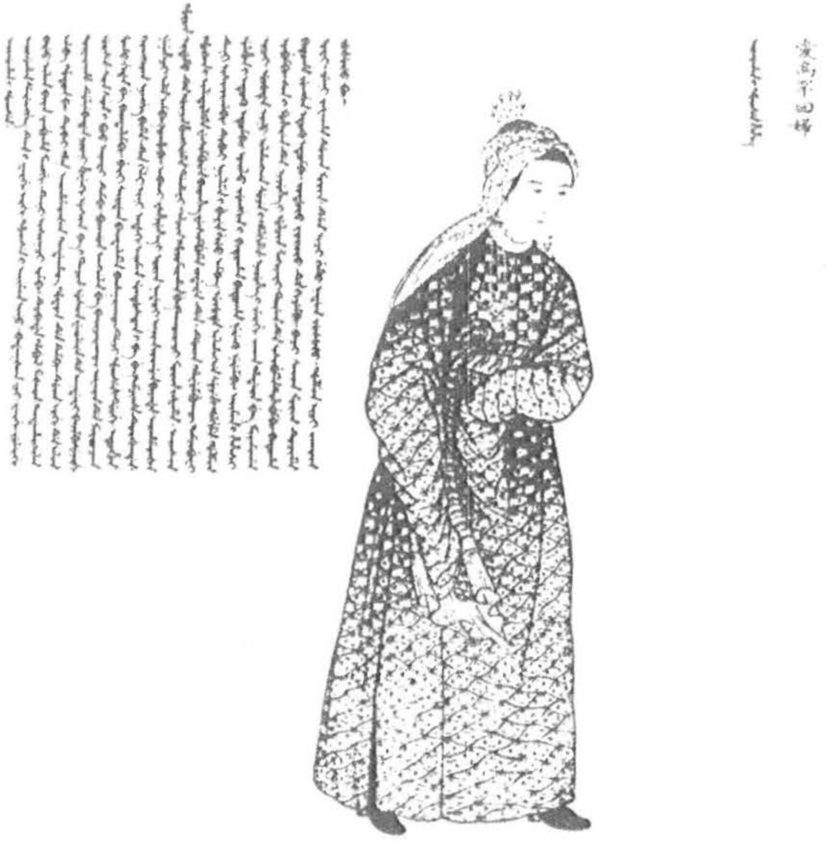
愛烏罕回人
愛烏罕極西回部也自拔達克山西南行須三月程可到其地有哈布爾沙特拔達哈爾[illegible]其汗愛哈莫特沙居惰達哈爾城四面環山中皆沃土俗以耕種為業居人築室散居不計戶籍丁口戰用鳥鎗刀槊不習弓矢在回部中最稱強盛近復兼并鄰部溫都斯坦部落益大乾隆二十七年十二月愛哈莫特沙欽仰
威德遣使和卓密爾漢貢馬恭進金書表文重四譯方至其人狀貌修偉用花帛纏頭褐衣長領外曳錦緞敞衣部內婦人亦用花帛纏頭飾以珠粗耳環綴珠索葉覆肩衣紋邊錦衣勤於織紝地產良馬其所貢馬四尺餘高七尺長八尺

3.a

The texts relied on the information provided by the provincial Governors but also drew heavily on the gazetteer of the empire, the *Ta Ch'ing i-t'ung-chih* (1743/1744), the *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* and other historical works.

This collection was added to later, namely in 1763 when the Afghans sent an embassy, in 1771 when the Turguts returned from Russia to China, in 1775 when Cheng-ch'ien brought tribute and in about 1790, after the Gurkhas had come to court in 1789. The first three of these events occasioned imperial postscripts to the *Huang Ch'ing chih-kung t'u*.

Before investigating the further history of the pictures a look at the extant or recorded copies and versions of the work may be useful:



3.b

Figures 3.a–3.b. Afghans (Huang Ch'ing chih-kung t'u, album, Bibliothèque Nationale).

A. *Printed Copies*

Xylographic edition of the Wu-ying-tien (Imperial printing shop) on white paper. I inspected a copy of the National Palace Museum (Taipei) that was also used by Mr. Chuang Chi-fa for his studies on the subject.[4]

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[4] Chuang Chi-fa, *Hsieh Sui Chih-kung t'u yen-chiu* / A study on the tribute presenting scroll by Hsieh Sui. In: *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Chinese Art History. 1991*. Taipei 1992, 767–819. Chuang Chi-fa, *Hsieh Sui <Chih-kung t'u> Man-wen t'u-shu chiao-chu*. Taipei 1989. This latter publication reproduces and transcribes the Manchu and gives the Chinese text. But in spite of the excellent paper the Manchu script is printed in the

Copy formerly in the possession of Walter Fuchs († 1979). Good copy.

Copy in the possession of Hamburg University. It contains various mistakes and variations.

Copy of the Taiwan reprint (Taipei 1968). Worst version, with numerous errors, exchange of plates, two parts of chapters missing completely.

Reprint of the Wu-ying-tien edition, Shenyang 1991. This edition does not have the traditional margin title and pagination. This may have been an editorial change for the reprint. All copies mentioned—with the exception of the National Palace Museum copy (304)—contain only 300 descriptions; four of the later additions, 3 regarding Vietnam and 1 regarding the Gurkhas (Balbu) are missing.

This leads to the conclusion that there is not only *one* Wu-ying-tien edition which is traditionally dated 1805[5] but also at least another, earlier one.

As palace editions do not have title pages, their dating relies heavily on internal evidence, the prefaces, and the palace histories, sometimes the *shih-lu*, the records of the imperial activities.

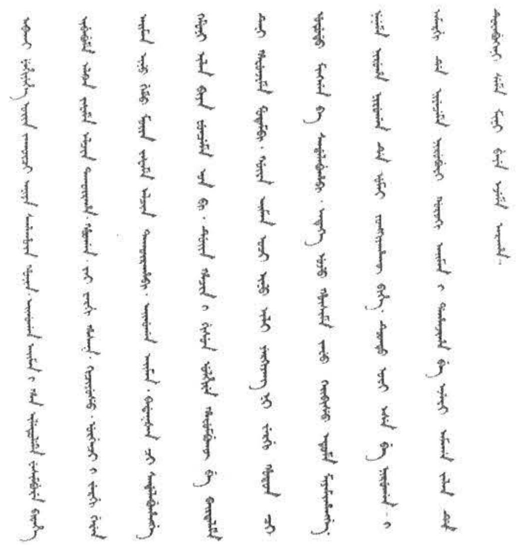

Figure 4. Imperial note on the inclusion of the Afghans in the album of the Huang Ch'ing chih-kung t'u (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).

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worst quality and the illustrations are so much reduced in size that they are almost useless. Here the Museum which published so many outstanding reproductions and studies tried to save money in the wrong place and largely devaluated the book.

[5] On the authority of T'ao Hsiang: *Ku-kung tien-pen shu-k'u hsien-ts'un mu.* Peking 1933, *chung-ts'e*, section *chih-sheng*, 4b.

Manuscript Versions

Chih-kung t'u, by Ting Kuan-peng and others. 1 scroll, described in the *Kuo-ch'ao yüan-hua lu.*[6] Not extant.

This copy was kept in the Ch'ien-ch'ing-kung ('Palace of Heavenly Purity') on the palace compound. This famous hall from the Yung-lo era, which the emperor often used for audiences, burnt down and was rebuilt three times, the last time in 1797. So it may be assumed that the scroll was destroyed by fire.

Dating the scroll is particularly difficult as there is very little information on it. The vitals of the painters are not known. One can only guess the period of professional activities of these artists by looking at the dates (usually imperial postscripts) on the pictures in the imperial collection:

Ting Kuan-peng	1742–1768
Chia Ch'üan	1761–1785
Chin T'ing-paio	1760–1791
Yao Wen-han	1747–1761
Ch'eng Liang	1747–?

This leads to the conclusion that the scroll was done during the first compilation phase, i.e. 1751–1757. As the work comprises only 1 scroll while others cover 4 scrolls it seems to be a short version, and that would also point to an early date.

An album from the Yüan-ming-yüan. Fragment. Coloured painting on silk.

It comprised originally 550 pictures in 2 *han* (cases) as stated in the memorial of 1757 which is given at the beginning of the work. While the scrolls show a man and a woman of each tribe with the description as one unit the album is different: each plate shows only the man, or the woman, with the descriptive text which is in Chinese on one plate, and in Manchu on the corresponding one. So the 550 pictures of this album would boil down to 275 representations in scroll format.

This fragment which is kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, contains the following parts (in each case the first and the last picture are given):

1. 37 descriptions	(Korea to Ferghana)
2. 22 descriptions	(Tibet to Mohammedans from Su-chou)
3. 28 descriptions	(Orončons to Yung-shun)
7. 36 descriptions	(Lolo to P'iao from Yung-ch'ang)
9. 10 descriptions	(Afghans to Ching-hai)

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[6] *Hua-shih ts'ung-shu.* Ed., *hsia*, 66.

Altogether 133 representations (of originally 275)

There is an imperial poem dated 1761. High court officials contributed poems with the same rhyme. In this case only three of them are extant:

Liu T'ung-hsün
Liang Shih-cheng
Liu Lun

The names of the officials who signed the 1757 memorial are different from those mentioned in the other versions, with the only exception of Fu-heng who was commissioned by the emperor to supervise the project.

Four scrolls. Colour painting. Attributed to Hsieh Sui. Detailed description in the catalogue of the imperial collections, *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi.* The descriptions are in Chinese and Manchu. The imperial seals are similar to those found on the album. The work is now in the possession of the National Palace Museum, Taipei.[7]

Contents:

1. 60 descriptions (Korea to Ching-hai)
2. 61 descriptions (Orončons to Hsi-lung-chou)
3. 92 descriptions (Sala to Tzu-li)
4. 78 descriptions (Lolo—Kuei-ting)

Altogether 271 descriptions according to the imperial catalogue. Chuang counts 301 according to the extant copy.

There is the imperial preface of 1761 and poems in the same rhyme by the following officials:

Liu T'ung-hsün
Liang Shih-cheng
Liu Lun
Chin Te-ying
Tung Pang-ta
Ch'iu Yüeh-hsiu
Yü Min-chung
Chieh Fu
Kuan Pao
Wang Chi-hua
Ch'en Ju-ch'eng
Ch'en Wei-eh'eng

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[7] There is a detailed description of this work in the imperial catalogue of paintings: *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi. San-pien*, 1816.

The printed edition has two further poems, by Tou Kuang-ting, and Chiang Ting, respectively.

The colophon is signed by

Fu-heng
Lai-pao
Alikun
Fude
Liu Lun
Nayantai
Yü Min-chung

The dating of these scrolls is difficult. Hsieh Sui's dates are not known, nor any dated works of his. There is no information if Hsieh did this work all by himself, or if he had any assistants, or somebody else finished it. At any rate the scrolls contain the later additions up to about 1790 (Balbu/Gurkha).

Four Scrolls. Coloured Painting.

Painters: Chuang Yü-te. Shen Huan, Li Ming, Shen Ch'ing-lan, Feng Ning, Chiang Mou-te and Chang Shu.

There is the imperial preface of 1761, and in addition an imperial postscript dated 3rd decade of the second winter month, 1805.

The work is described in the *Kuo-ch'ao yüan-hua lu*[8] which states that these scrolls were to replace the lost earlier *Chih-kung t'u* by Ting Kuan-peng and others. As to the dating the painting was probably done after the other scroll was destroyed, so between ca. 1797 and 1805.

The poems in the same rhyme are the same as listed for the Hsieh Sui scrolls but in addition there are poems by

Ch'ing+ Kuei
Tung Kao
Chu Kuei
Tai Ch'ü-hsiang
Chao Ping-chung
Huang Yüeh

The postscript is signed by

Fu-heng
Lai-pao

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[8] *hsia*, 67.

Liu T'ung-hsün
Chao Hui
Alikun
Fude
Liu Lun
Nayantai
Yü Min-chung

So this list is different from Hsieh Sui's work but identical with the one of the Wu-ying-tien edition(s).

Szu-k'u ch'üan-shu Version.

The work was included in the huge imperial library project *Szu-k'u ch'üan-shu*; the Wen-yüan-ko copy which is extant at the National Palace Museum (Taipei) was the first copy finished and may therefore be dated 1782. This version therefore does not contain some later additions (e.g. Gurkhas) and comprises only 300 descriptions (according to Chuang).

Relations Between the Individual Versions of the Huang Ch'ing chih-kung t'u

What Happened to the Collection of Plates and Descriptions After 1757?

One may assume that Ting Kuan-peng's scroll was painted very early, maybe around 1757 or even earlier. As it was destroyed later it probably did not have too much influence on other versions. It was replaced by the Chuang Yü-te scrolls after 1797. If the latter served as the basis of the 1805 printing is not clear. At any rate the imperial postscript of 1805 was not included in the printed edition. We have cases, however, where imperial colophons were only written after the printing. There are also more poems in the same rhyme, which were not included in the 1805 edition. This evidence suggests that this version did not serve as the basis for the printed edition.

As the present location of this work is not known and we do not have further information all this is just speculation.

A comparison of the album and the Hsieh Sui scrolls shows a large number of differences. In general it may be said that the album is more carefully done and shows many more details. It can therefore be safely assumed that the album is closer to the original pictures, and maybe earlier.

A comparison of the Hsieh Sui scrolls with the *Szu-k'u ch'üan-shu* copy and the Wu-ying-tien xylograph also shows differences. So it seems that neither served as the direct model for the 1805 edition.

There seem to be at least two printed editions:

Edition A: Edition in 9 chapters without the mentioned three descriptions regarding Vietnam and the one of the Gurkhas. That would mean that it is to be dated before 1790/91. Another difference is that chapter 7 includes Yung-ch'ang fu as the last item while the 1805 edition switches to chapter 8 already after the description of Shun-ning fu (2 items earlier). As the Shen-yang reprint agrees with these characteristics and maintains to be a reprint of the original palace edition, this earlier edition must also have been published by the Wu-ying-tien.

The album version is very close to this edition and it may have served as a model. It does not seem very reasonable to assume that a scroll with a different format and arrangement would be the basis of a xylograph. But also the *Szu-k'u ch'üan-shu* version could have served this purpose, especially as the xylographs only give the Chinese text and are not coloured. The line drawings would have been easy to use for the xylographic engraving process. Chuang Chi-fa, however, rules the Wen-yüan-ko copy out as a direct model. But there are other copies of the *Szu-k'u ch'üan-shu* text, and some seem to be different, e.g. one Mukden version. So this question needs further investigation.

Edition B: Palace edition 1805 as described by Chuang and mentioned by the *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi*. If it is a complete recut of the earlier xylograph, or a reprint from the same blocks, with the addition of several descriptions and slight editorial changes, has yet to be investigated.

Edition A shows a number of variations—plates are missing or exchanged, thus leading to grave misunderstandings on the side of the reader. This points to hasty repairs of damaged blocks. But considering the high reputation of the palace printing shop it is doubtful that so many mistakes should happen. So there is also the option of later reprints by other publishers, or even pirated editions.

A larger number of copies has to be compared to get to a more tangible result.

Why Was the Work Compiled?

The emperor lead numerous campaigns to keep his empire at peace and to extend its borders. He wanted to know about the different parts of his country, and so we have to place the *Huang Ch'ing chih-kung t'u* in the framework of battle paintings, portraits of meritorious officers, maps of the empire, memorial inscriptions, dictionaries and other reference tools and information sources.[9] The *Huang Ch'ing chih-kung t'u* provided useful details about the non-Chinese tribes in China (as already depicted in the Miao Albums) but also about the inhabitants of the newly acquired territories as well as the foreigners from Europe and other places.

What Is the Value of the Work Now?

The *Huang Ch'ing chih-kung t'u* has been used occasionally by scholars but not to any large degree. It was only Walter Fuchs[10] who pointed out that it is actually a unique source for the the knowledge of costumes, material culture in general, and lifestyle of many nationalities in the 18th century. While the line-drawings of the xylographs are not very satisfactory, and if using a bad copy of edition A even misleading, the originals, especially the album, give a lively picture of the many nationalities in full colour and in excellent quality. The style of the court painters may often be unimaginative and stiff but it is usually true to the originals. Besides, the names transliterated into Manchu give a much better idea of the names and words than the Chinese renderings. So far this unique source for Asian history has been too seldom used by historians and ethnographers, probably owing to the shortcomings of edition A. For this reason a printed edition of the colour paintings of the album would be highly desirable, And it would also make very interesting Manchu texts available which show a few special characteristics, e.g. the *hiatus* is avoided by inserting an 'n': Ai-wu-han (Afghans) becomes 'Ai*n*uhan'.

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[9] Cf. Enoki Kazuo's excellent introduction to *Ch'in-ting hsi-yü t'ung-wen-chih*. In: *Hesei toktobuha wargi aiman-i hergen be emu obuha ejetun-i bithe*. Vol. 4. Tôkyô 1964, I–XXVII.

[10] Fuchs, W., Einige Beobachtungen zu Volkstrachten der Türken und Mongolen im 18. Jahrhundert. In: *Aspects of Altaic civilization*. Bloomington 1963, 167–169.

■ Source: Di Cosmo, Nicola, 'A set of Manchu documents concerning a Khokand mission to Kashgar (1807)', in *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (1997), Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 159–199.

A SET OF MANCHU DOCUMENTS CONCERNING A KHOKAND MISSION TO KASHGAR (1807)*

Nicola Di Cosmo

After the Qing armies pacified the Northwest, or Xinjiang, around 1760, the Qing government established separate but closely connected centers of administration in the Ili valley, Urumqi, and Kashgar. They were all part of a system of colonial administration which, especially in Kashgaria, south of the Tianshan Mountains, relied on local administrators known as *bek*. The international situation in the region was one of considerable tension due to the expansionist mires of both Russia and the khanate of Khokand, and to the militarization of the region following the Zhunghar wars. In this context, the Qing had primarily two goals: the preservation of the integrity and security of the borders, and the collection of taxes to provide for the garrisoning of the area. From the 1760's to the 1820's the system of indirect rule through the *beks* seemed to satisfy both demands.

In this context, significant aspects of the relationship between the Qing forces and the pre-existing political elites found expression in a language typically associated with "tribute". That is to say, the emperor, through his representatives, would "extend favors", "bestow his grace", and provide "encouragement to virtuous behavior" (that is, gifts and rewards) upon his newly acquired "alien" subjects, as well as neighboring foreign potentates. Be they foreign envoys, nomadic chieftains, or urban administrators, these subjects had to recognize his boundless virtue, present gifts, and bow to him. The locus where this relationship was played out was not the Qing imperial court, but rather the centers of local administration at the frontier.

This consideration poses an important question. Few would argue that local politics at the borders, granting titles to local leaders, extending commercial privileges, requiring the performance of certain rituals in front of local Chinese officials, are not part of the tributary system. But this local

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* I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Saguchi Tôru, who allowed me to see and publish the documents presented in this paper.

dimension has hardly been investigated. The discussion over the "tribute system", has typically been court-centered, and the frontier regions have been often regarded merely as the place where centrally adopted political solutions were partly enacted. Here I wish to focus on the "tribute system" in frontier administration, intended not only as a reflection of centrally planned policies, but as an integral part of local politics as well.

The overriding concern of the Qing administration in Xinjiang after the conquest was one of security. With less than adequate military and economic resources to control an alien, heterogeneous, and potentially hostile population, and with an uneasy relationship with neighboring states, border and internal security were absolute requirements for the successful establishment and preservation of Qing rule in the region. The choice of indirect rule adopted by the Manchus for the administration of southern Xinjiang allowed the Muslim ruling elite to retain their traditional political and social rank. But, if they were kept in power as a class, the destiny of single individuals and their families was largely determined by their access to the higher ranks of the administrative ladder. Appointments, though formally approved at the metropolitan level, were *de facto* determined at the local level. Higher appointments gave the recipients access to lucrative opportunities[1] from bribes obtained from local merchants to participation in the periodic court visits.[2] Moreover, the Qing tried to guarantee border security by keeping good relations with nomadic groups. Thus, Kirgiz nomadic tribal leaders were allowed to retain access to urban markets, which were a significant and traditional source of income.

The Documents[3]

In the present paper I introduce a set of unpublished Manchu documents that shed light on the diplomatic relations between the Qing and the khanate of Khokand during the reign of 'Ālim Khān (1799–1809), which comprise a memorial to the throne and six other diplomatic documents with

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[1] Sanada Yasushi 眞田安, "Sosetsuki shin *bek* sei kara mita kashugaria oashisu bunka," in *Nairiku Ajin Nishi Ajia no shakai to bunka,* ed. Mori Masao (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1983), pp. 437–457.

[2] *Hakim beks* of the fourth rank and above and other *beks* of the 6th rank and above were allowed to participate in the court visits.

[3] This set of documents is part of a larger collection, which is described in Nicola Di Cosmo, *Reports from the Northwest: A Selection of Manchu Memorials from Kashgar (1806–1807)*. Papers on Inner Asian no. 25. Bloomington: Research Institute of Inner Asian Studies, 1993.

translation, romanization, and facsimile text in Manchu. The importance of these materials in enhanced by the fact that the mission recorded here is not mentioned, to the best of my knowledge, in the official sources.

The memorial was written by the Qing officials in Kashgar, whose Manchu names are Jin, I, and Ai. Jin is certainly Jin-chang 晉昌 (?–1828), a Manchu bannerman of the Plain Blue Banner from the Aisin Gioro clan, who was first appointed as Agent (Ma. *baita icihiyara amban*, Ch. *banshi dachen* 辦事大臣) in Ush in the tenth year of Jiaqing (1805), and then, the following year, was appointed Assistant Military Governor in Kashgar (Ma. *hebei amban,* Ch. *canzan dachen* 參贊大臣).[4] The identity of the official called I is uncertain. The likelihood is that this is Yi-chong-a 伊沖阿 (?–1829), also a Manchu of the Plain Blue Banner from the Aisin Gioro clan who served as Agent (*banshi dachen*) in Ush from the fifth to the ninth year of Jiaqing. Then he was apparently recalled to the capital, and appointed Assistant Military Governor (*canzan dachen*) in Ush in the fifteen year of Jiaqing (1810). Possibly in between his appointments in Ush he might have served in some capacity in Kashgar. The third person, Ai, is certainly Ai-xing-a 愛星阿, who in 1806 was appointed *aisilame baita icihiyara amban* (that is, *bangban dachen* 幫辦大臣, or Assistant Agent)[5] which was a deputy to the Assitant Military Governor.[6]

The other documents comprise a letter from 'Ālim Khān to the Qing officials with their reply; a letter from 'Ālim Khān to the *hākim bek*[7] of Kashgar Iskandar, and the latter's reply; and a letter from 'Omar Bek,[8] younger brother of 'Ālim Khān, to the *hākim bek* of Yarkand Yūnus, and Yūnus's reply. With the exception of the reply to 'Ālim Khān by the Qing officials, which was written in Manchu, the documents from Khokand were written in Persian, while the documents from the *hākim bek* Iskandar and Yūnus were written in "Muslim language", that is, Turkic Chaghatai language in Arabic script. These documents were all translated certainly into Manchu and perhaps also into Chinese, and then sent to the emperor as attachments to the memorial.

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[4] Li Huan 李桓, *Guochao qixian leizheng chubian* 國朝耆獻類徵初編 315, 32a–38b. Rpt. in *Qingdai zhuanji congkan,* 清代傳記從刊 vols. 127–191. Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985.

[5] William F. Mayers, *The Chinese Government: A Manual of Chinese Titles, Categorically Arranged and Explained, with an Appendix.* (1st ed. Shanghai, 1897. Rpt. Taipei: Ch'eng-wen, 1966), p. 103, no. 561.

[6] For the main official posts of the Qing administration in Kashgar see, among other works, *Qinding Xinjiang shilue* 欽定新疆事略 3, 13b and ff. (Rpt. in the series *Zhongguo bianjiang congshu*, vols. 11.1–11.2. Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1965); and Lin Enxian 林恩顯, *Qingchao zai Xinjiang de Han Hui geli zhengce* 清朝在新疆的漢回隔離政策. Taipei, 1988.

[7] This was the most prestigious title for Muslim administrators. The term means 'governor', 'ruler', 'mayor'. See Lin Enxian, op. cit., p. 73; Saguchi Tôru 佐口透 *Jûhachi-jûkyû seiki higashi Tokurisutan shakaishi kenkyû*, p. 111 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1963); *Qinding xiyu tong-wenzhi* 欽定西域同文志, vol. 1, p. 735 (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1961–1963).

[8] He succeeded his brother as ruler (Khān) of Khokand from 1809 to 1822.

From the memorial we learn that, in March 1807, a diplomatic mission from Khokand reached Kashgar. This was headed by two men: Maimet Nizar and Maimet Boba, about whom not much is said except that they were *mullah*, that is, members of the religious elite, and enjoyed the trust of 'Ālim Khān. Further details of these two men, however, are not known to us. According to the memorial, the purpose of the mission was to express Khokand's subordination to the Qing emperor, following the protocol and language of what is commonly referred to as "tributary system".[9]

The letter by 'Ālim Khān addressed to the Qing representatives resident in Kashgar is also styled in the language of tributary relations. In the first place, 'Ālim refers to himself with the title of Bek rather than Khān, even though he had himself consciously chosen that title when he succeeded to his father Nārbāta Bek. The use of a lower title is a clear sign of subordination. Moreover, 'Ālim says that following the example of his grandfather Erdeni Bek, he also sends envoys to express filial behavior towards the emperor and to wish the everlasting peace of the emperor.

These words not only appear in the memorial to the throne, where we might expect the Qing officials might have used such a language as a matter of convention, even though the other party had no intention of expressing subordination. But they appear in the translation of the Persian letter written by 'Ālim Khān, sent to the court appended to the memorial. Though one would need to see the original text, the likelihood is that the translation did not deviate excessively from the original, and that both 'Ālim's change of title and his use of tributary language were indeed conform to the letter of the original text.

The reply sent to 'Ālim by the Qing officials confirms the asymmetric nature of the relationship. In it is said: "Expressing endless gratitude for the grace of the great emperor and imitating your grandfather and father

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[9] For a broader perspective on the tributary relationship between China and Central Asia Joseph Fletcher, Jr., "China and Central Asia, 1368–1884," in *The Chinese World Order*, ed. John K. Fairbank, pp. 206–224. On the tributary system under the Manchus see John K. Fairbank and Ssu-yü Teng, "On the Ch'ing Tributary System," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 6.2 (June 1941), pp. 135–246 (Rpt. in *Ch'ing Administration: Three Studies* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968], pp. 107–218).

you, Bek, have filially and respectfully appointed envoys. We rejoice and praise you."

The Historical Background[10]

At this point we should recall that the khanate of Khokand was by no means a power to trifle with. After the Qing conquest of Eastern Turkestan, both the Kirgiz nomadic tribes that lived in the southwestern area of the region, between Kashgar and the Ferghana valley, and the kingdom of Khokand, paid allegiance to the dynasty and accepted a tributary status. In the past the Kirgiz had suffered much at the hands of the Zhunghars and Kazakhs, and the Qing conquest offered them the chance to recover lost territories. They never achieved a degree of political union but were divided into a number of tribes. In the Qing sources they are recorded as Burut, and generally divided into the Five Eastern and Fifteen Western tribes, living in as many *otoks*.[11]

After 1760, the Kirgiz became a serious problem for Khokand. Merchants from Andijan were subject to continuous attacks and robberies at the hands of the nomads, in particular the powerful Edegene (Edigenü) tribe adjacent to Ferghana, and the lack of safety soon became the main justification for the Khokandian military campaigns against the Kirgiz. The Qing's position in this dispute was one of mediation. The Manchus also guaranteed the merchants' safety once they had crossed the border into Kashgaria. Often, however, Kirgis attacks and robbery were used as an excuse by dishonest merchants to claim reparations and reimbursement from the Qing. The khanate of Khokand used force against the nomads, sent colonists to occupy their lands, and recruited them into the Khokandian army, eventually incorporating several tribes as its subjects. After the Qing had consolidated their civil and military structure, security problems between Kirgiz and Khokand were gradually overcome, or in any case lost their political edge. Both had open access to a number of markets in the Qing dominions, at cities such as Yarkand, Aksu, Ush, and of course Kashgar. Khokandian merchants were actively involved in East Turkestan trade. In Ush they traded with Burut tribesmen, and in Aksu they traded in jewelry. Burut merchants mostly sold cattle, hides, and sheep. Traders from Tibet and Khokand arrived daily in Yarkand, where the bazaar streets stretched for miles. Generally speaking the Alty Shar (six cities) of Kashgaria were open to trade, but not Turfan, Khomul, Kharashar, or Kucha.

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[10] For this section I have relied, besides those already mentioned, on the following works: Saguchi Tôru, "The Eastern Trade of the Khoqand Khanate," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 24 (1965): 47–114; Pan Zhiping 潘志平, *Zhongya Haohan guo yu Qingdai Xinjiang* 中亞浩罕國與清代新疆 (Beijing: Shehui kexue, 1991); Joseph Fletcher, "Ch'ing Inner Asia" in *The Cambridge History of China, vol. 10: Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911, Part I* ed. Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 58–90.

[11] Camille Imbalt-Huart, *Recueil de Documents sur l'Asie Centrale*, pp. 151–167. (Paris 1881. Rpt. Amsterdam, 1970).

Trade constituted the main source of income for the Khokand government. 'Ālim Knān (1799–1809)[12] was particularly greedy, and subjected the merchants to enormous vexations in order to raise money for his military build-up. He made himself the representative of the merchants *vis-à-vis* the Qing representative in Kashgar, managing to obtain the complete remission of commercial fees, but keeping for himself a share of the profits. Although the Qing had not raised commercial fees, but rather lowered them with respect to past practices, Khokandian merchants resorted to every possible means to avoid paying them, by either submitting false declarations as to the volume and value of the merchandise traded, or by bribing the border and market officials. The local Muslim administrators were often in cahoots with them, and expected to receive a part of the profits.

The reign of 'Ālim Khān and the rapid growth of Khokand were also characterized by a policy of ruthless exploitation of the merchants. Control over trade with China was achieved by terrorizing foreign merchants who passed through Khokand on their way to Xinjiang, in particular those who tried to use the Pamir route from Bukhara and Badakhshan. 'Ālim had used his political privileges to make sure that Khokandian merchants received from the Chinese authorities the tax exemptions normally given to tribute missions. On the other hand, 'Ālim taxed his own merchants to the bone. The Khokand control over trade also brought to the establishment of the so-called *khudaidad* system in Kashgar, which was in effect a measure for the extra-territorial regulation of trade.[13] As trade in silken fabrics, tea, and rhubarb was teeming, the profits were enormous. Moreover, some Khokandian people settled in East Turkestan, cultivated land,

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[12] He was the first Khan of Khokand, whereas previous rulers had retained the more modest "bek". Since Alim was the first to adopt the khan, the khanate of Khokand officially begins with his reign. Though his reign is traditionally dated to 1809, according to some he reigned until 1811; see Pan Zhiping, *Zhongya Haohan guo yu Qingdai Xinjiang*, p. 178.

[13] Saguchi, "Eastern Trade", pp. 86–89.

and married Uyghur women; they retained contacts with Khokand, and formed a separate community in western Kashgaria.

'Ālim Khān's policy *vis-à-vis* the Qing was ambivalent. On the one hand, Khokand's interest was to keep and possibly increase its control over trade with Kashgaria. Moreover, he was engaged in an ambitious expansionistic project at home against rival central Asian kingdoms. In 1803, for instance, as he was carrying out his military conquest of Tashkent, Khokandian representatives were sent to Kashgaria to join the delegation of Muslim *beks* that was going to the capital to attend the periodic audience with the emperor. Another similar delegation was dispatched in 1809–1810.[14] These steps were meant to strengthen the peaceful relationship with the Qing, which was carried out even though it meant acceptance of a tributary, hence lower, diplomatic status.

On the other hand, Khokand harbored territorial ambitions over Kashgaria. It continued to host the descendants of the Hōjas of Kashgar, former rulers of the region, and remained a haven for political refugees from Xinjiang. Political ambitions took a more concrete form as the khanate actively supported the Jihāngir rebellion (1820–1828), and was always ready to lend a helping hand to seditious movements.

China's interests in the region were primarily tied to security, and secondly to trade regulation. While a series of measures were undertaken to limit and keep track of the foreign merchants entering Kashgaria, such as the issuance of permits, tariffs were kept generally low. Moreover, there was widespread bribery of both border officials and local Muslim officials in charge of supervising trade, which allowed merchants to elude fees and taxes. Finally, it seems that Qing officials frequently gave in to what must have been a fairly aggressive pressure to lift commercial fees. As the stern Qing official Na-yan-cheng 那彥成 remarked, the Manchu *ambans* tended "to regard tariff exemption as a means of taming Khokandian merchants."[15] Concern was raised among the Qing authorities when it appeared that trade imbalance was causing silver to flow from China into Central Asia. Responding to a long established tradition of opposition to the outflow of bullion, they required that Chinese goods be paid in silver, or that trade with foreign merchants be limited to barter.[16] Nevertheless, concerns about bribery, for which much of the blame was later laid on the *hākim beks* and other high-ranking local administrators, as well as smuggling and trade imbalances, seem to have been tolerated (if not actively encouraged) by the Qing representatives until the 1820's. Protracted political upheaval from 1820 until 1828, which disrupted the delicate balance in the region, called for a stricter control over the local administrators, as well as foreign relations and trade regulations. However, Qing resources in the region remained relatively limited, and, after a peace treaty was concluded between the Qing and Khokand in 1832, the latter remained determined to control regional trade. Khokand also continued to present a serious threat to the Qing border, and to support internal and external enemies.

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[14] Pan Zhiping 潘志平, "1759–1820 nian Qing yu Haohan de guanxi" [1759–1820] 年清與浩罕的關系, *Xinjiang shehui kexue* 1985.2, p. 89; and also Pan Zhiping, *Zhongya Haohan guo yu Qingdai Xinjiang*, p. 51.

[15] Saguchi, "Eastern Trade", p. 82.

Significance of the Documents

Given the actual balance of power in the region, the language of subordination, and in particular 'Ālim's renouncing the title of Khān, is explained, then, by a rationale derived not only from the Chinese tradition of foreign relations, but especially from considerations contingent to the circumstances.

The Khokandian mission provides a classic example of obtaining commercial privileges via political means, and shows how the question of tribute *vis-à-vis* trade is more complex than it is usually assumed. The emissaries interact with the Qing representatives on three different levels. First, they exchange gifts; then, they ask for the remission of commercial fees; finally, they are the bearers of correspondence with local Muslim officials. This is, however, a "frontier" situation, not a court audience, and the less formal protocol is reflected in both language and ritual. The two envoys brought gifts to the Quing officials: camel hair cloth, marmot furs, sugar, pine nuts, and grapes which—the officials note—were immediately converted into cash to be used for official purposes. In exchange they received silk, whereas 'Ālim Khān was sent some valuable type of black satin. There seems to be no special ritual associated to the presentation of

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[16] On the issue of the export of currency metals, see Robert M. Hartwell, "Foreign Trade, Monetary Policy and Chinese Mercantilism", in *Collected Studies on Sung History Dedicated to James T. Liu in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Kinogawa Tsuyoshi (Kyoto: Dohosha, 1989), p. 463.

the tribute, and the word for "tribute" itself is somewhat ambiguous. The authors of the memorial use the Turkic form *belek*, which also means gift, rather than expressions which might convey the more traditional sense of tribute to the emperor or to a superior, such as the Manchu *alban jafambi* (Chin, *jingong* 進貢). This form is widely used in the memorials to indicate gifts brought to the Qing officials in Xinjiang.

Besides the gifts received in exchange, the envoys also asked for, and obtained, what is recorded in the memorial to the throne as an "exemption from taxation for the few furs and other goods they had brought." Normally this would be all that the record says. But in the letter to 'Ālim by the Kashgar officials it is clearly said that taxes had been lifted on over one hundred loads of merchandise. This allows us to establish that the size and value of the commercial value of the mission was by no means trifling. The gifts that the envoys brought, then, were not economically important in themselves, but became so since they were part of the "language" of tribute which was the only medium through which the tax exemption could be granted. It derives that 'Ālim Khān, in order to achieve his goal to increase Khokand's control on trade and traders, could exploit the "tributary" mechanism of obtaining commercial privileges by political means, and that this could be determined at the local level.

This was a price that the Qing, at least initially, were willing to pay. Only in 1809 the total tax exemption status granted to tribute missions was replaced with a more limited exemption which could be applied only to half of the total volume of the merchandise. Looking at the issue from the Qing side, commercial relations guaranteed border security. But the language and the "environment" of tributary relations also constituted an invisible barrier between Khokand Muslims and Kashgar Muslims, in particular the local *beks* whose loyalty was a matter of deep concern to the Qing government. This invisible barrier was supposed to keep the *bek* close to the Qing, and as separate as possible from the people on the other side of the border. The local officials had to align themselves with a political tradition different from the conventions and symbolic system of Muslim and Central Asian societies. By doing so, they were forced to establish a political (and also cultural) distance between themselves as subjects of the Qing, and other Muslim powers. The *hākim bek* of Kashgar, Iskandar, said in his reply to 'Ālim: "the ambans were very happy that you sent envoys to ask after their health, and to seek the peace of the great and sacred emperor." The tone of this letter shows that it had been written by a Qing subject, but it also shows, in a subtler way, that the Qing officials needed the knowledge and expertise of the local *beks* in the diplomatic relations with Khokand, and made use of them as part of their foreign relations strategy. We should also notice that the gifts received by the *hākim beks* of Kashgar and Yarkand were not inferior in value to those received by the Qing ambans: a clear evidence of their role in diplomatic relations and of their high status. Later on, as it became obvious that some *beks* were conducting secret dealings with Khokand, their ability to be active in foreign relations was curtailed.

In connection with the relationship between 'Omar Bek and Yūnus, we should mentioned that a few years later they became respectively khan of Khokand and *hākim bek* of Kashgar. The two apparently connived in 1813 to allow Khokand to increase its hold on trade by replacing the *khudāidad*, who was just the head of the Khokandian merchant community in Kashgaria, with the office of a *qādī bek* who would directly collect taxes from the Khokandian merchants. This request, however, was rejected. Yūnus was also accused of having bought government land, while he was the governor of Kashgar, and sold it illegally to people from Andijān (i.e., Khokand).[17] Clearly, the friendship between Khokandian rulers and Kashgarian *beks* could directly harm Qing interests, and undermine Manchu rule in the region.

From the above we can draw the following conclusions. First, the diplomatic relations with Khokand could be managed by the Kashgar office, i.e., at the local frontier level. Every exchange of correspondence was transmitted to the court, but the fact that the Kashgar ambans took it upon themselves to reply to 'Ālim Khān's letter shows that they had the authority to conduct foreign relations. Secondly, the exchange of correspondence conformed to the principle of what is known as the "tributary system." The state of Khokand accepted a subordinate status, and its ruler, 'Ālim Khān, renounced the title of Khān for Bek. Third, the use of this language, however, does not derive from an ideology of universal rulership, but should be at least partly ascribed to motives that emerge from the specific historical context. Fourth, the real purpose of the diplomatic mission was commercial and the use of such a language was meant to ensure the political protection to make all goods carried by the mission members tax-free. This was an essential element of 'Ālim Khān's self-strengthening project, since Khokand's ability to control the flow of trade depended on its ability to maintain good diplomatic relations. Finally, the language of tribute created a special environment which not only stressed Chinese superiority, but constituted an invisible barrier to interpose between the Muslims of Kashgar and other Muslims of Central Asia. In the context of border relations, such a language can be seen not just as a reflection or embodiment of ideological notions of cultural and political superiority, but as a factor that depended upon and informed a specific historical situation. It was, in sum, a protocol, a system that made sense at a particular time, with real people, acting according to their own interests.

Romanization and Translation of the Documents

DOCUMENT 1: MEMORIAL TO THE THRONE

Romanization

[1a]

aha jin. i. ai gingguleme
wesimburengge. hoohan-i beg ailim-i baci elcin takûrafi beleg alibume
jihe babe
donjibume wesimbure jalin. jakan karanggui karun-i hiya šarhûda. hoohan-i elcin maimetnizar. maimetboba sebe tuwašatame ahasi de acanjifi niyakûrame
alarangge. meni ailim beg-i gisun daci mini mafa erdeni bai ci ebsi
ertele. jalan halame
amba ejen-i mohon akû kesi be alihai jihe. ailim hi mini mafa amai

[1b]

yabuha ginggun ijishûn-i doro be alhûdame umesi gingguleme
hukšeme ofi. cohome maimetnizar membe takûrafi ini funde
amba ejen-i tumen elhe be baime. ambasai saimbe fonjime alibuha
beleg be bargiyarao seme hengkišeme baime alafi. aha jin. i
ai de to žung juwete defelinggu. tarbahi sukû juwete afaha
tan šatan juwete farsi. hûri. mucu juwete fala. parsi hergen ilan
afaha be suwaliyame alibuha be. ahasi murušeme ubaliyambufi tuwaci. ailim enduringge ejen-i tumen elhe be baime. ahasi-i saimbe fonjime. ailim-i

[2a]

deo eimeri. yerkiyang ni akim beg yunus-i saimbe fonjime. maimetnizar sei
alaha gisun be akdarao seme ar[a]habi. ede aha jin ai de
alibuha to žung ni jergi jaka be we songkoi hûda arafi. siden-i
baitalara de belhebuhe. elcin maimetnizar. maimetboba se ceni gaifi
gajiha majige furdehe-i jergi jakani cifun tatara be huwebureo seme
baime ofi. ahasi
enduringge ejen-i kesi fulehun be badarambume. cifun tatara be guwebuhe ci tulgiyen. ahasi kooli songkoi maimetnizar. maimetboba sebe sarilafi

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[17] Saguchi, "Eastern Trade", pp. 96 and 85.

[2b]
niktongga suri emte defelinggu šangnaha. karu ailim de bure
amba suje juwe defelinggu. isu juwe defelinggu. afabure bithe
israndar. yunus. karu ailim. eimer de bure hoise hergen-i jasigan
jaka be suwaliyame maimetnizar sede afabufi ailim. eimer sede gamabuhabi.
uttu ofi. ailim. ahasi de alibuha de bithe juwe afaha.
ailim-i deo eimer yunus de bure bithe emu afaha. israndar. yunus.
karu ailim. eimer de bure hoise hergen-i jasigan jise emte
afaha. murušeme ubaliyambuha bithei jise sunja afaha. ahasi

[3a]
ailim de afabure bithei jise be suwaliyame gingguleme
tuwabume ibebuhe, erei jalin gingguleme
wesimbuhe. saicungga fengšen juwan juweci aniya juwe biyai ice ilan de
wesimbuhe. ineku aniya duin biyai juwan de alime gaiha
fulgiyan fi-i pilehe
hese saha sehe.

Translation

Your humble servants Jin, Yi and Ai respectfully memorialize to inform Your Imperial Majesty that ambassadors have been sent from the Bek of Khokand, ’Ālim, and came to present *belek*.[18] Recently the Imperial Guard Šarhūda, of the military station of Karanggu, escorted the Khokand emissaries Maimet Nizar and Maimet Boba to meet Your humble servants. They knelt down and respectfully presented the following report:

"These are the words of our ’Ālim Bek: 'From the very beginning, that is from the time of my grandfather Erdeni Bai up to now, generation after generation have come to receive the inexhaustible grace of Your Imperial Majesty. I, ’Ālim, imitate the filial and respectful behavior of my father and grandfather, and very respectfully express my gratitude." He has especially appointed Maimet Nizar and the rest of us to request on his behalf the everlasting peace of Your Imperial Majesty. Inquiring after the health of the Councilors, we beg [you] to receive the *belek* that we have presented."

They have comprehensively presented your humble servants Jin, Yi, and Ai, with two bolts each of camel hair cloth (to *žung*),[19] two pieces each of marmot pelts, two strips each of sugar,[20] two plates each of pine nuts and grapes, and three sheets of Persian writing.

After we made a rough translation [of the documents], and examined [them], it was written: "’Ālim wishes the Sacred Emperor's eternal peace, inquires about the health of your humble servants, and ’Ālim's younger brother ’Omar inquires about the health of the *hākim bek* of Yarkand Yūnus, please trust the words reported by Maimet Nizar and the others."

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[18] Turkic word for "gift" or "tribute".

[19] This is the Manchu transliteration of Chinese *tuorong* 馲絨. I am grateful to Dr. Giovanni Stary for the helpful suggestion.

[20] *tan* is Chinese 糖 for "sugar".

Thereafter, the camel hair cloth and other things presented to your servants Jin and Ai were converted in cash as is custom and [the cash] preserved for official use.

The envoys Maimet Nizar and Maimet Boba brought [goods] with them. Because they requested that payment of duties on a few furs and other things they had brought with them be waived, your humble servants extended the alms and grace of the Sacred Emperor, and granted exemption from the duties. Moreover, your humble servants feted Maimet Nizar and Maimet Boba according to the regulations, and granted them one bolt each of fine Nanking silk. We entrusted to Maimet Nizar and the others two large bolts of silk, two bolts of black satin, and a document of commission to give as reward to ’Ālim. Yūnus and Isk'andar entrusted letters in Muslim language as well as other things to give as thanks to ’Ālim and ’Omar. We urged [the emissaries] to take [these things] to ’Ālim and ’Omar.

Therefore we respectfully offer altogether for your examination the original document ’Ālim presented to your humble servants, which is two pages; the letter ’Ālim's younger brother ’Omar sent to Yūnus, which is one page; the draft letters in Muslim language sent by Isk'andar and Yūnus to thank ’Ālim and ’Omar (one page each); the rough translation of all these documents which [total] five pages; and the draft document of commission from your humble servants to ’Ālim. On this account we respectfully memorialize.

Submitted on Jiaqing, twelfth year, second month, third day.

In this year on the tenth of the fourth month, the imperial edict written in vermillion ink was received, which said, "Noted."

Document 2: Letter by ’Ālim Bek

Romanization

[1a]
hoohan-i beg ailim gingguleme
kašigar de tefi hoise geren hoton-i baita be uherileme icihiyara
hebei ambasa de aliburengge. ailim mini mafa erdeni bai ci ebsi. ta
seme niyalma takûrafi
amba enduringge ejen-i lumen elhe be baime. ginggun ijishûn-i yabuha
bihe. te ailim bi gingguleme mini hanci akdaci ojoro niyalma
gazanaci molo maimetnizar. duguwan beg molo maimetboba sebe
takûrafi mini funde

[1b]
amba enduringge ejen tumen elhe be baime. ambasai saimbe
fonjime unggihe mini bade
amba enduringge ejen-i hûturi
abkai karmataha kesi de. eiten baita gemu gûniha ici keksebumbi.
maimetnizar sei anggai alaha gisun be akdarao. erei jalin
gingguleme alibuha.
dolo bibuhe.

Translation

The Khokand Bek 'Âlim respectfully presents [this report] to the councilors resident in Kashgar in charge of the affairs of all Muslim towns. Ever since the time of my grandfather Erdeni Bai up to now we have behaved in a honest and filial manner, uninterruptedly delegating people to wish the everlasting peace of the great and sacred emperor. Now, I 'Ālim have respectfully assigned a task to the *khazānaci*[21] Mullah Maimet Nizar and the *divan bek*[22] Mullah Maimet Boba, who are trustworthy men close to me. I dispatched them to represent me in requesting the everlasting peace of the imperial majesty and in inquiring after the health of the ministers. In my country, with the great and sacred emperor's good fortune and grace protected by heaven, in every matter we are made happy according to everybody's expectations.

Please trust the words reported by mouth from Maimet Nizar and the others. On this matter I have respectfully reported.

Enclosed.

Document 3: Letter by 'Ālim to the *Hākim Bek* Iskandar

Romanization

[1a]

ailim-i bithe.
kašigar-i nuktei baita be kadalara amba tušangga akim
bog de jasiha.
akim beg-i beye. nuktei gubci gemu saiyûn. meni ubade
amba enduringge ejen-i hûturi.
abkai karmataha kesi de gemu elhe sain-i banjime bi. akim beg-i
beye inu
abkai karmataha ujen kesi be enteheme alire be jabarime erehei bi.

[1b]

cananggi ubade hûdašara molo abdulazes jidere ildun de
akim beg fe be gûnime. minde buhe jasigan be tuwafi umesi
urgunjeme gucu-i dolo ele sain oho. ereci mimbe gûnin de
tebume ildun deri jasigan bufi. sini beyei saimbe safi gûnin sindaki.
geli akim beg-i beye
amba enduringge ejen-i genggiyen be hargašame genefi. amba urgun-i amasi mariha
sehebe. bi umesi urgunjehebi. te. mini hanci akdaci ojoro niyalma
molo maimetnizar sebe takûraha ildun de akim beg saimbe fonjime.

---

[21] This was a treasurer, in charge of the storehouses and of the collection of grain revenues. See Saguchi Tôru, *Jûhachi-jûkyû seiki higashi Tokuri-sutan shakai shi kenkyû*, p. 111; Lin Enxian, op. cit., p. 73; *Qinding xiyu tongwenzhi*, vol. 1, p. 736.

[22] I assume this to be the correct rendering of Ma. *duguwan*. This was a controller of official documents. See Saguchi Tôru, "Kashgaria," *Acta Asiatica* 34 (1978), p. 65.

[2a]

urgun arame jasigan jasiha. maimetnizar sei anggai alaha gisun be
akdarao. erei jalin jasiha.
dolo bibuhe.

Translation

A document from 'Ālim sent to the officially appointed great *hākim bek* who governs the territory of Kashgar.

How are the *hākim bek* and all the people of the land?

In my place we all live well with the good fortune and heavenly-protected grace of the great and sacred emperor. I pray and hope that the *hākim bak* also always receives the weighty grace protected by heaven. Previously, on the occasion of the coming of the merchant Abdulazes who trades here, after seeing the letter which the *hākim bek* in consideration of the old times sent me, I greatly rejoiced, and my feeling of friendship grew ever stronger. After you gave [me] the letter on that occasion showing your concern for me, and after I learned of your good health, I let my mind rest.

I also heard that the *hākim bek* in person went to have an audience with the enlightened [presence] of the great and sacred emperor, and returned with great happiness. I greatly rejoiced. Now, on the occasion of having delegated Maimet Nizar Mullah and the rest, who are trusted men close to me, I sent a letter, written with joy, to inquire after the *hākim Bek's* health. Please trust the words reported from the mouths of Maimet Nizar and the others. On this account I have sent [this letter].

Enclosed.

Document 4: Letter from the Councilors to 'Ālim Bek

Romanization

[1a]

kašigar de tefi hoise geren hoton-i baita be uherileme icihiyara
hebei ambasai bithe. hoohan-i beg ailim de afabuha. beg sini
beye saiyûn. nukte gubci gemu saiyūn. meni beye kašigar-i gubci
hafan cooha beg hoise sede isitala.
enduringge ejen-i kesi hûturi de umesi sain-i tehebi. jakan beg sini
takûraha elcin gazanaci maimetnizar. duguwan beg maimetboba se
isinjifi alaha. sini nuktei gubci gemu sain. ba na de umesi
ekisaka babe safi ambula urgunjehe. gajiha mende alibuha

[1b]

bithe be inu tuwaha. beg si
amba ejen-i kesi be inenggi dobori akû hukšeme. sini mafa ama be
alhûdame. unenggi gûnin ginggun ijishûn-i elcin takûrafi
amba ejen-i elhe be baime dacilame ungginjihenggi umesi inu. be labdu urgunjeme
saišame tuwambi. ede be. sini unenggi gûnin-i hing seme yabuha be
gûnime. mende alibuha beleg to žung. tarbahi-i jergi jaka be

gemu bargiyaha. maimetnizar. maimetboba sei baha[23] songkoi ceni emu tanggû
aciha jakai cifun tatara be guwebuhe. beg si ereci ele

[2a]
beyebe olhošome. ba na-i baita be sain-i icihiyame ekisaka teme. enteheme
amba ejen-i ujen kesi alire be kiceme yabukini. te meni baci maimetnizar
maimetboba sede niktongga suri amba defelinggu šangnaha ci tulgiyen. sinde
bure amba suje juwe defelinggu. isu juwe defelinggu be maimetnizar
sede afabufi gamabuha. beg si bargiyakini. erei jalin afabuha

Translation

A document from the Councilors resident im Kashgar in charge of the affairs of all the Muslim towns sent down to the Khokand Bek 'Ālim.

Bek, how are you, and how is everybody in your land? Ourselves, and everybody else in Kashgar, including officers, soldiers, begs and Muslims have been living with good health in the fortune and grace of the sacred emperor. Recently the emissaries appointed by you, the *khazānachi* Maimet Nizar and the *divan bek* Maimet Boba arrived, and reported that in your land everybody is well, and that [there is] great calm in your country. After healing that, we greatly rejoiced.

We also read the document which [the envoys] had brought and presented to us. Bek, prostrating ceaselessly to honor the grace of the great emperor, and imitating your father and grandfather, filially and respectfully you appointed envoys. The fact that they came to ask for and wish the great emperor's peace is also very [filial and respectful]. We regard this with joy and praise.

In this matter, in consideration of your honest and sincere behavior, we accepted all the things you presented as tribute (*belek*) to us: the camel hair cloth, the marmot pelts, and the other things. According to the request by Maimet Nizar and Maimet Boba, we waived the payment of duties on their one hundred loads of things. Bek, from now on you must behave even more respectfully, administer well the affairs of your territories, live peacefully, and spare no effort to receive the solemn grace of the great emperor.

Now, from our place we have bestowed on Maimet Nizar and Maimet Boba a large bolt of Nanking silk, moreover, we have entrusted to Maimet Nizan and the other two bolts of large silk and two bolts of black satin to be given to you. Bek, you must accept [these].

On account of this we have entrusted [this letter to the emissaries].

Document 5: Letter from 'Omar Bek, younger brother of 'Ālim Bek

Romanization

[1a]
ailim-i deo eimer beg-i bithe
amba tušangga derengge darangga yerkiyang ni nuktei baita be kadalara
akim beg-i saimbe fonjime jasiha. akim beg-i beye saiyûn nuktei

---

[23] Read *baiha*.

gubci gemu saiyûn meni ubade
abkai karmataha kesi de. meni beye nuktei gubci gemu elhe sain-i banjime bi
damu ererengge akim beg-i beye
abkai karmataha ujen kesi be alifi. hûturi fengšen nemebure be erehei bi.
cananggi ildun de minde buhe jasigan be tuwafi umesi urgunjehe. te

[1b]
meni hanci niyalma molo maimetnizar. molo maimetboba se genere ildun de
sini elhe saimbe fonjime jasiha. ese isinaha manggi. ceni anggai
alaha gisun be akdarao:
dolo bibuhe

Translation

A document from 'Omar Bek, the younger brother of 'Ālim, sent to inquire after the health of the great, officially commissioned, noble keeper of order *hākim bek*, who administers the affairs of the territory of Yarkand.

How is the *hākim bek*, and how are all the people of his land? In my place, in the imperial grace protected by heaven, myself and everybody else in the land are living in peace and health. My only hope is that, after having personally received the weighty imperial grace which is protected by heaven, the *hākim bek*'s good fortune and prosperity will increase. After reading the letter sent to me on the previous occasion, I was overcome with joy. Now, on the occasion of the jourbey of my confidants Mullah Maimet Nizar and Mullah Maimet Boba, I have sent [this letter] to inquire after your peace and health. After they arrive, please trust the words reported from their mouths.

Enclosed.

Document 6: Letter of the *Hākim Bek* of Kashgar Iskandar

Romanization

[1a]
kašigar-i akim beg giyûn warig isk'andar-i bithe.
hoohan-i beg ailim de jasiha
beg sini beye saiyûn. jing kidume
gûnin bisire de
beg sini baci takûraha elcin maimetnizar. maimetboba sei gajiha
beg si minde buhe jasigan be tuwafi uthai
beg sini cira be acaha adali selaha bime. ere mudan elcin takûrafi
amba enduringge ejen-i elhe be baime dacilame

[1b]
hebei ambasai saimbe fonjime ungginjihengge
hebei ambasa umesi urgunjeme
amba enduringge ejen de
wesimbuhe. jai maimetnizar sei gajiha furdehe-i jergi jaka be. ceni
baiha songkoi cifun tatara be šangnaha guwebuhe. beg sini baci minde
jasiha to žung juwe defelinggu. tarbahi sukû juwo afaha tan

šatan juwe farsi. hûri. mucu juwe fila be. hi genu urgunjeme bargiyaha
beg si yala gûnin fayaha kai. to elcin maimetnizar se marime

[2a]
ofi. mini baci
beg sinde bure kofon suje duin defelinggu. junggin duin defelinggu
ilhangga suje juwe defelinggu, fadu juwe sithen. cai abdaha
jakûn tampin be maimetnizar sede afabufi
beg sinde. gamabuha ci tulgiyen. maimetnizar. maimetboba sede aisin
sese noho. suje sijigiyan emte hacin buhebi. erei jalin cohome
beg sini saimbe fonjime jasiha.
dolo bibuhe.

Translation
A document of the *hākim bek* of Kashgar and Prince of the Blood of the second degree[24] Iskandar sent to the Khokand Bek 'Ālim.

How are you Bek? After I read the letter, brought by the emissaries Maimet Nizar and Maimet Boba whom you appointed from your country, that you, Bek, sent to me just as in my mind I was thinking about and longing for [it], immediately I was as happy as if I had met yourself in person.

The councilors were very happy that this time you sent emissaries who came to seek the peace of the great and sacred emperor and to inquire after the health of the councilors, and reported it in a memorial to the great and sacred emperor. Then, as for the pelts and other things brought by Maimet Nizar and the others, a remission of fees was granted according to their request.

Bek, I gladly accepted the two bolts of camel hair cloth, the two marmot pelts, the two pieces of sugar, and the two plates of pine nuts and grapes that you sent me. Bek, you really went to a lot of trouble! Now, since the envoy Maimet Nizar and the others are returning, I entrusted to them four bolts of *kofon* silk,[25] four bolts of brocade, two bolts of flowery silk, two boxes [of the type used to hold diplomas], and eight containers of tea leaves to be given to you Bek. Besides these things sent to you, Bek, I have also given Maimet Nizar and Maimet Boba each a silk gown decorated with gold thread.

On account of this, and especially to inquire about your health, I have sent [this letter].

Enclosed.

Document 7: Letter of the *hākim bek* of Yarkand Yūnus

Romanization

[1a]
yerkiyang ni akim beg uju jergi taiji yunus-i bithe.

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[24] In Chinese *chün wang* (Ma. *giyūn wang*); see H.S. Brunnert and V.V. Hagelstrom, *Present Day Political Organization of China*. Trans. A. Beltchenko and E.E. Moran. (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh ltd., 1912; rpt. Taipei: Ch'eng-wen, 1978), pp. 4–5.

[25] *Kofon* or *kofun suje*, a type of satin, Ch. *pengduan* 彭緞.

beg eimer de jasiha.
beg sini beye saiyûn. dahalara urse gemu saiyûn. jing kidume
gûnime bisirede.
sini ahûn beg ailim-i baci takûraha elcin maimetnizar maimetboba sei gaiha
beg si minde buhe jasigan be kašigar ci ulame isinjifi. aimaka
sini cira be acaha adali selaha bime. kemuni
beg sini baci minde jasinjiha to žung juwe defelinggu. tarbahi sukû

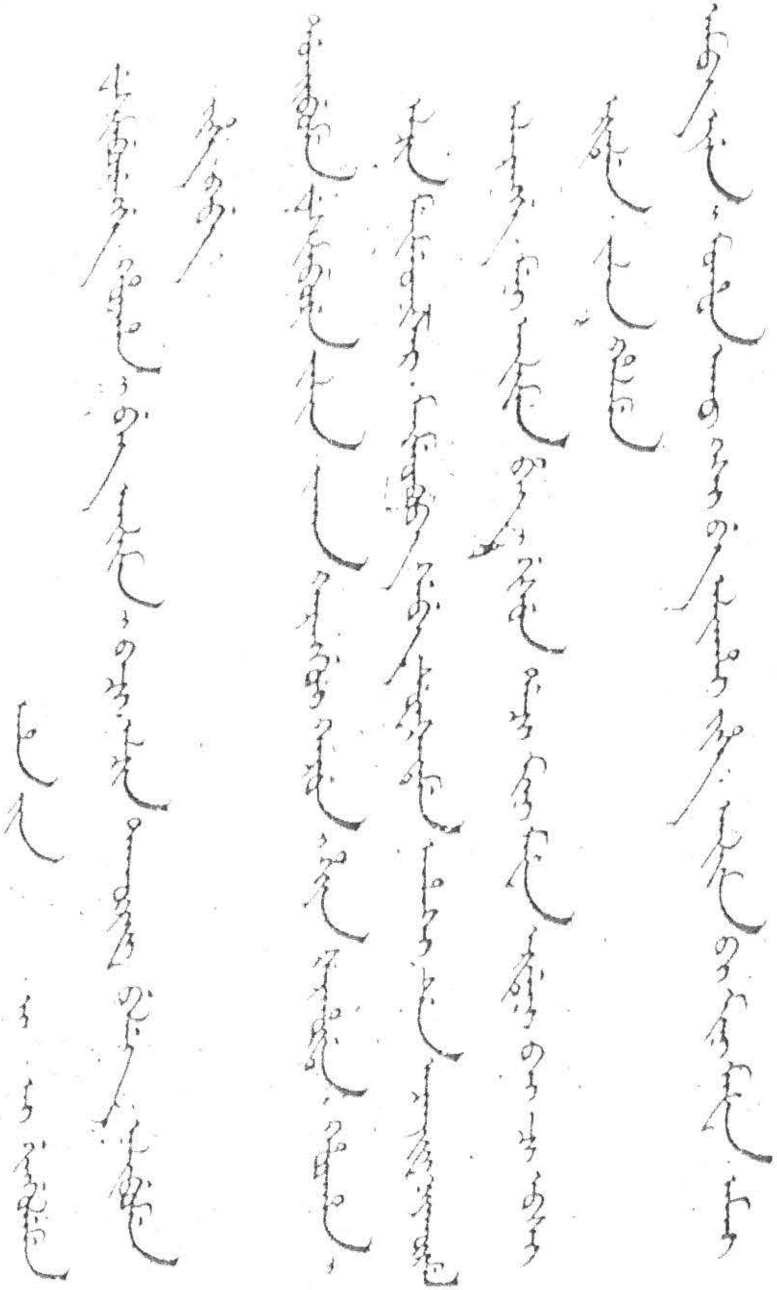
[1b]
juwe afaha. tan šatan juwe farsi. hûri. mucu juwe fila be
urgunjeme bargiyaha.
beg yala gûnin fayaha kai. te elcin maimetnizar se marime ofi. mini baci
beg sinde bure kofon suje duin defelinggu. junggin juwe defelinggu.
fadu emu sithen. cai abdaha jakûn uhun be maimetnizar sede afabufi
beg sinde gamabuha ci tulgiyen. maimetnizar. maimetboba sede gecuheri
emte defelinggu buhebi. uttu ofi cohome
beg sini saimbe fonjime jasiha. dolo bibuhe.

Translation
A document from Yūnus, Taiji of First Degree and *hākim bek* of Yarkand, sent to the Bek 'Omar.

How are you Bek and how are all of your subjects? The letter that you, Bek, sent to me, and which was brought by the messengers Maimet Nizar and Maimet Boba whom your older brother Bek 'Ālim dispatched was forwarded from Kashgar and arrived just as I was thinking of and longing for [it]. I was as happy as if I had met you in person, and gladly accepted the two bolts of camel hair cloth, the two marmot pelts, the two pieces of sugar, the two plates of pine nuts and grapes which you had sent to me. Bek, you certainly went to a lot of trouble! Now, since the envoy Maimet Nizar and the others are returning, I have entrusted to them four bolts of *kofon* silk, two bolts of brocade, one box [of the type used to hold diplomas], and eight packages of tea leaves to give you. Besides these things sent to you, I have given one bolt brocade each to Maimet Nizar and Maimet Boba.

Therefore, I sent [this letter] especially to inquire after your health, Bek.

Enclosed.



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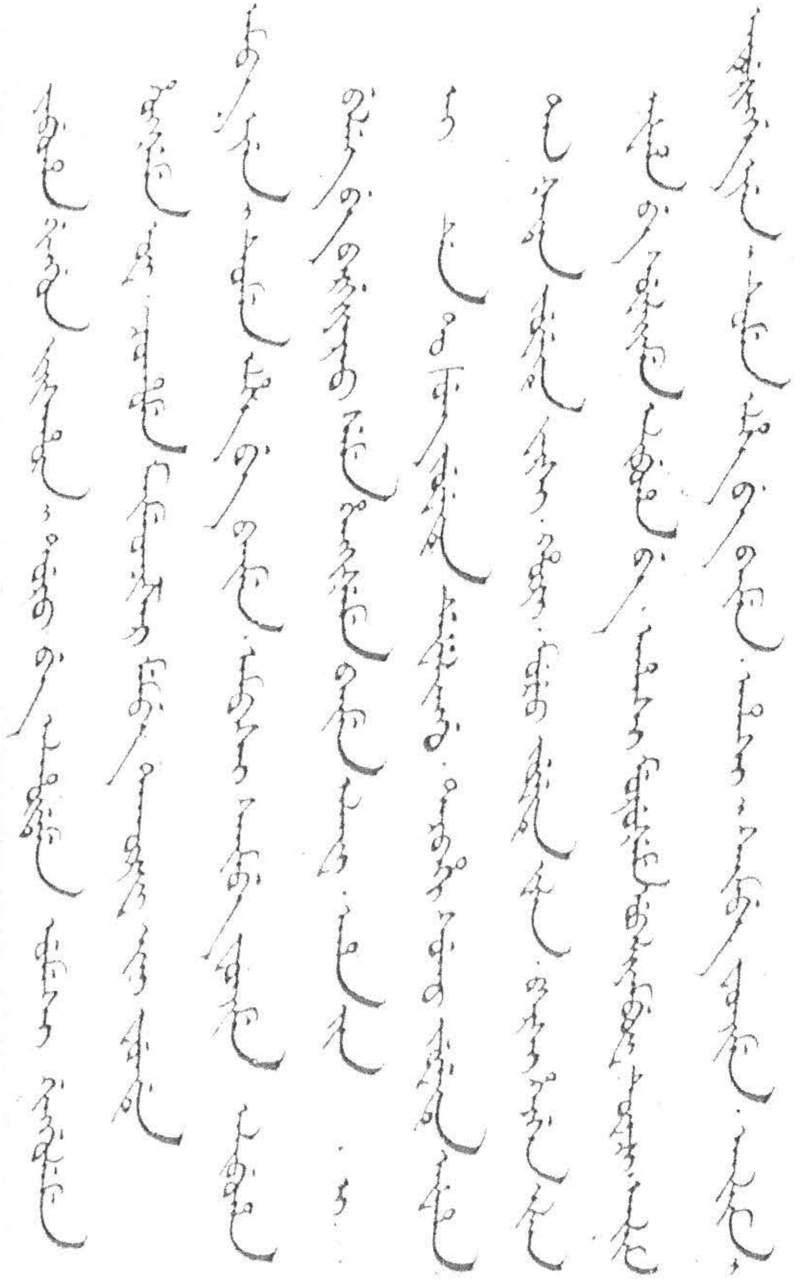

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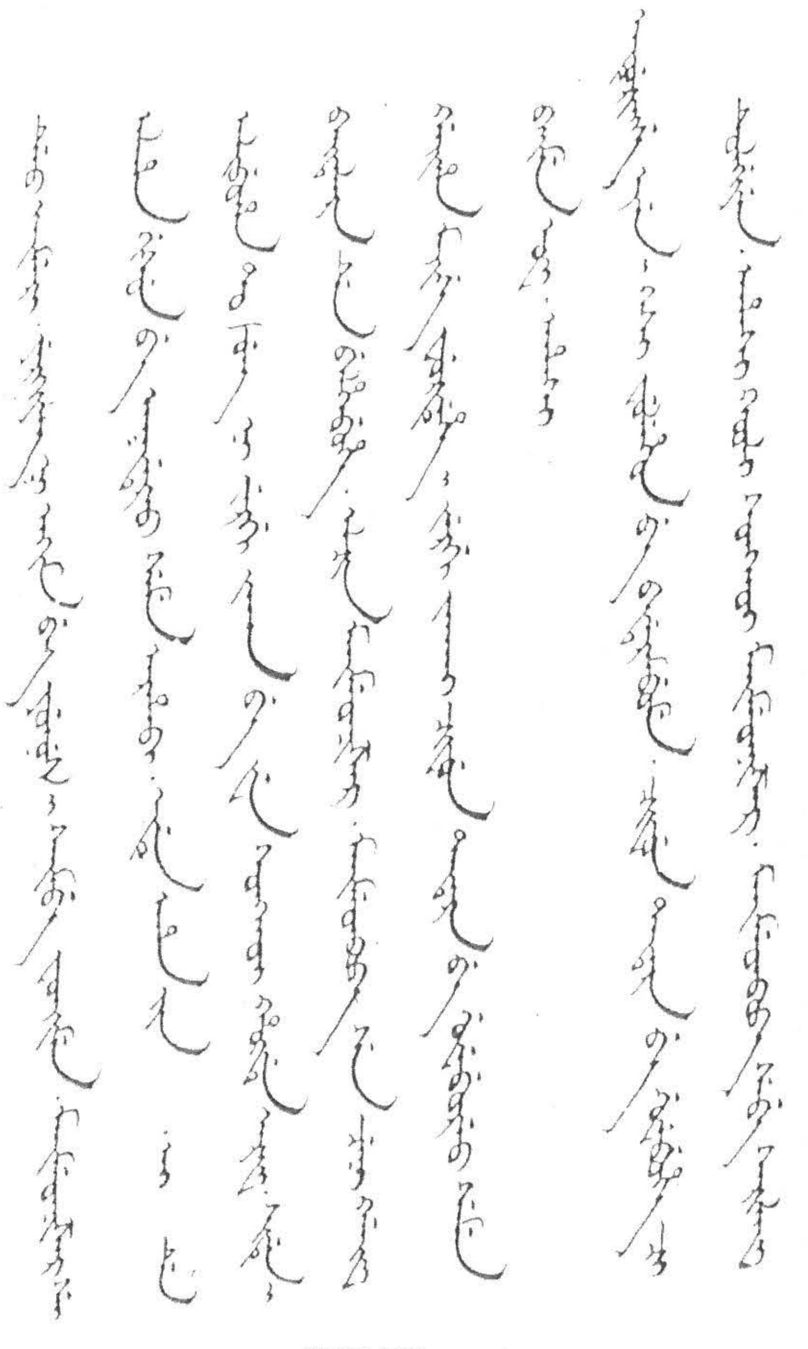

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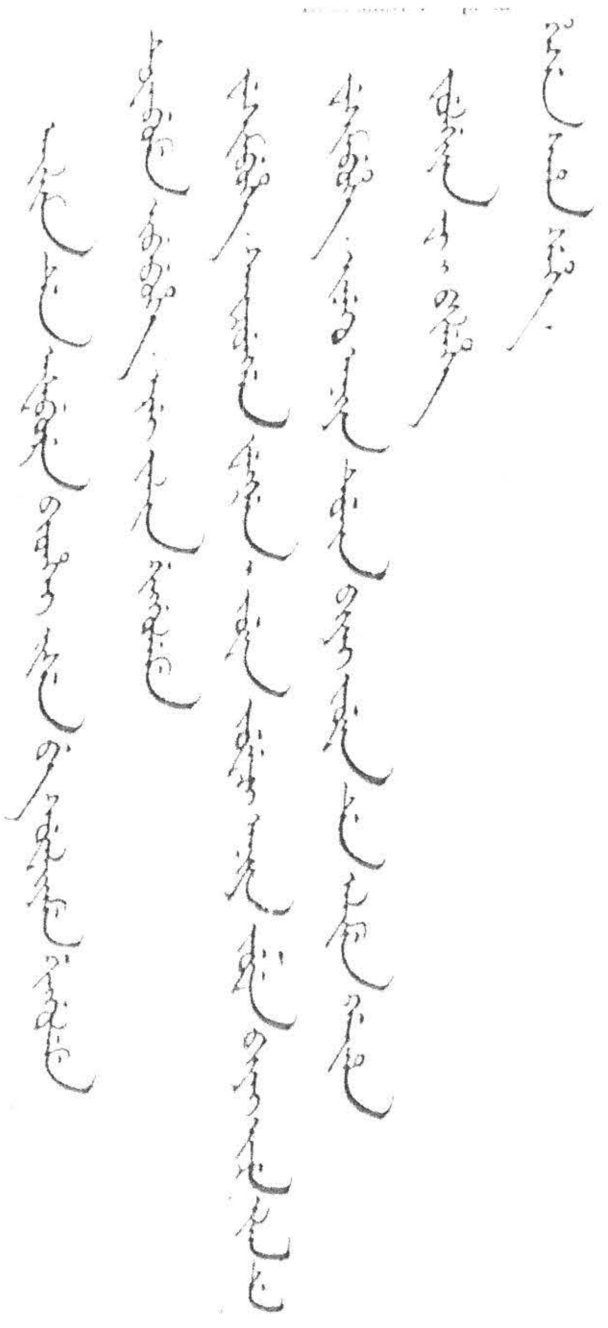

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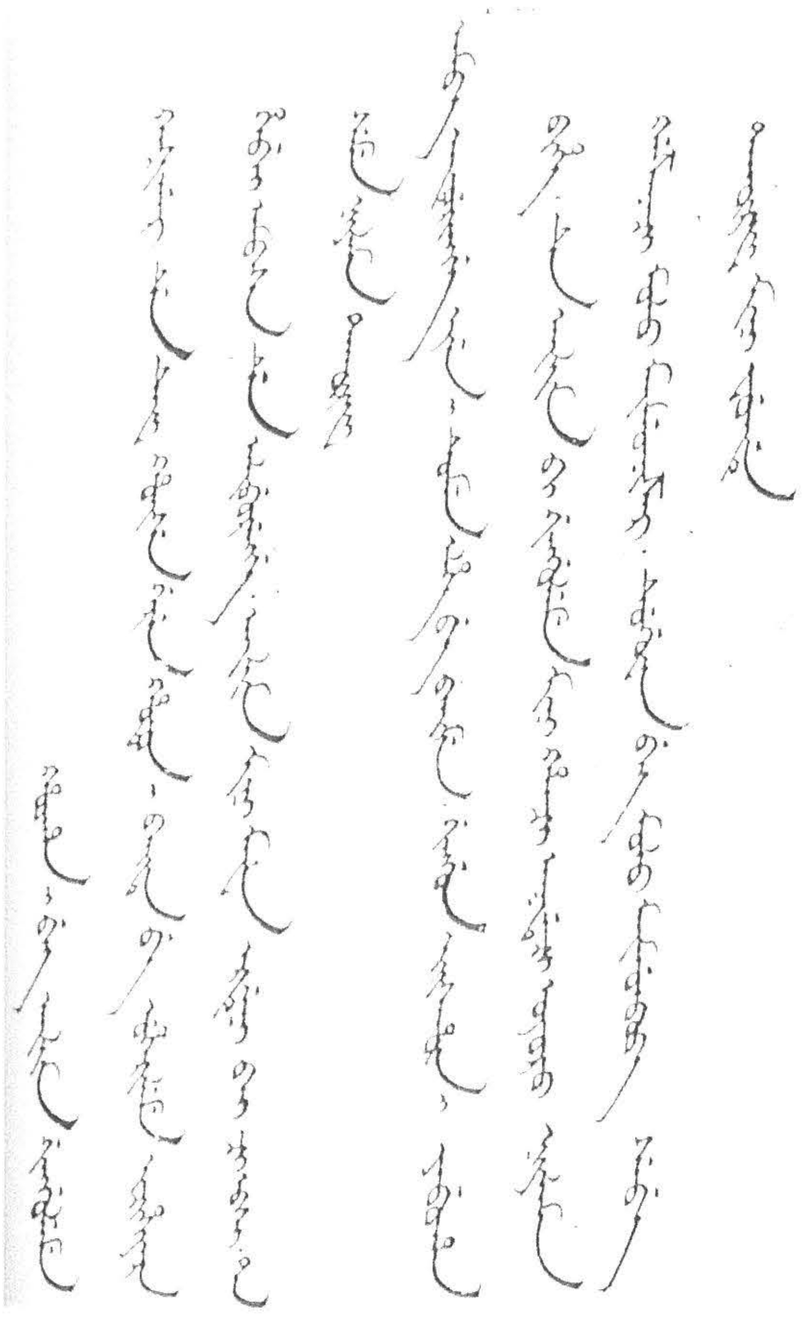

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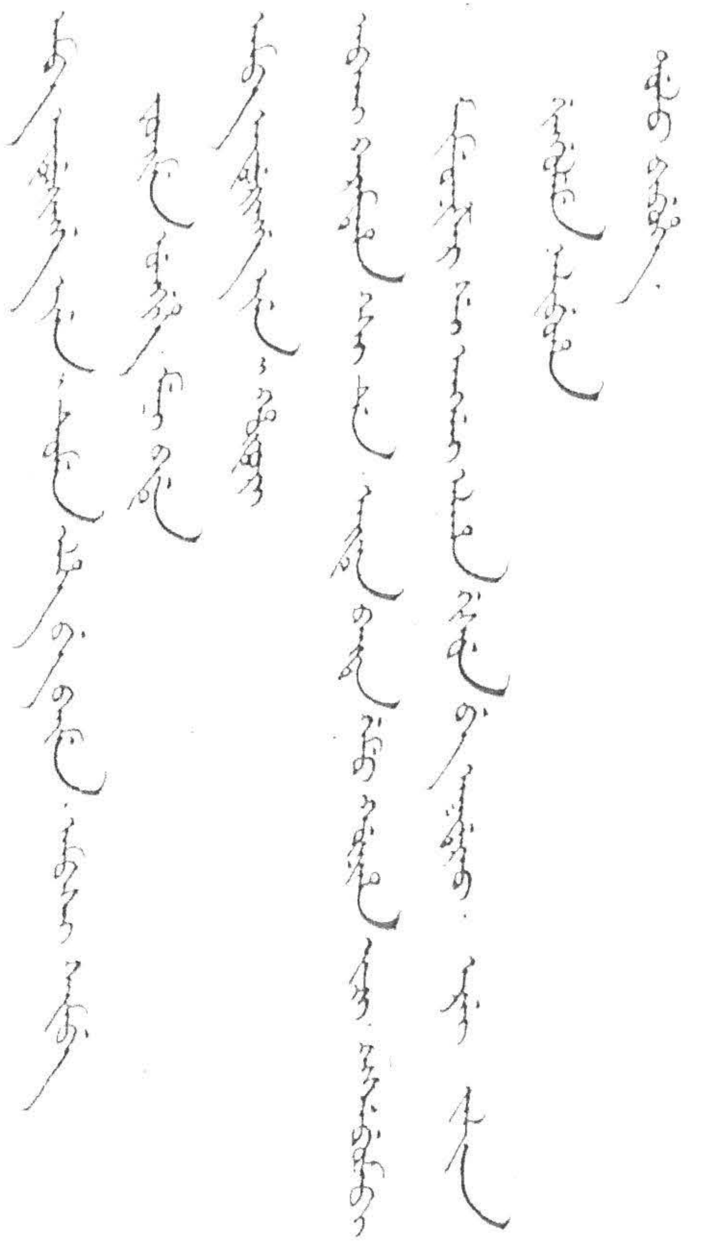

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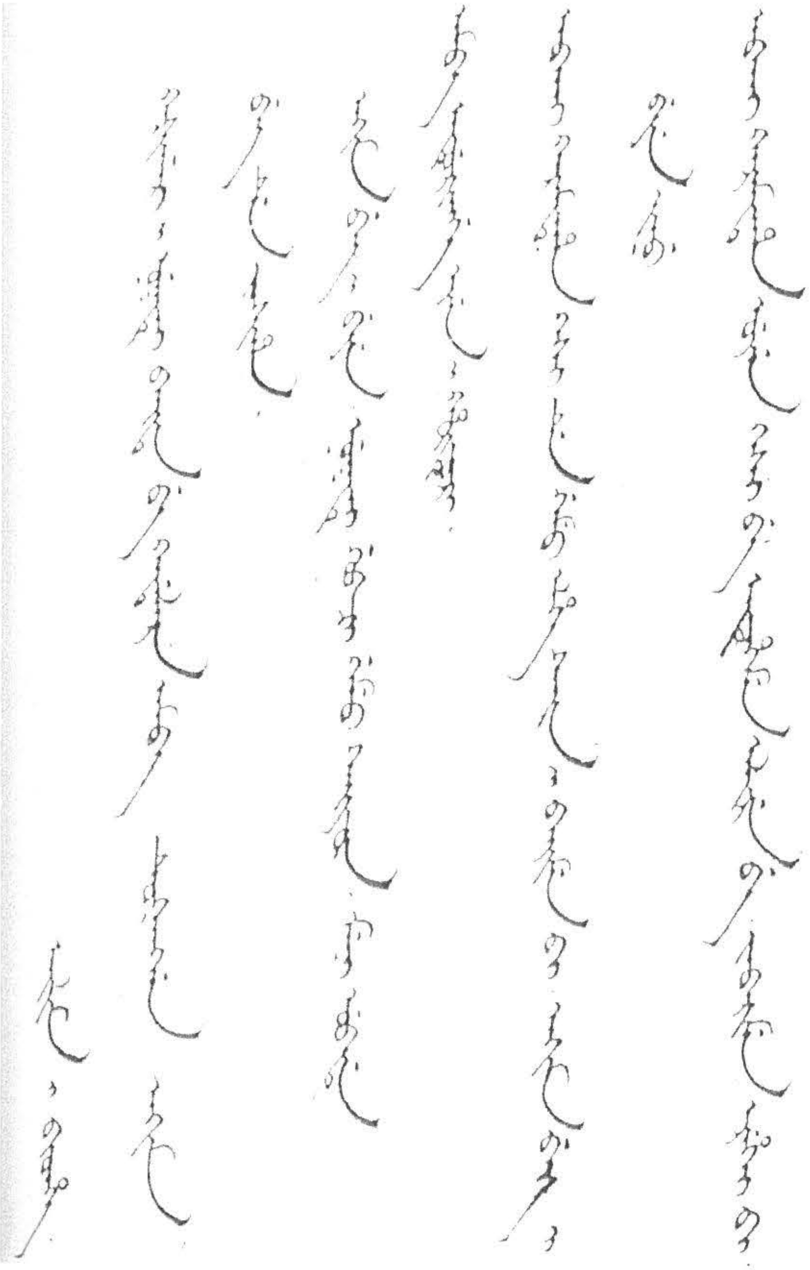

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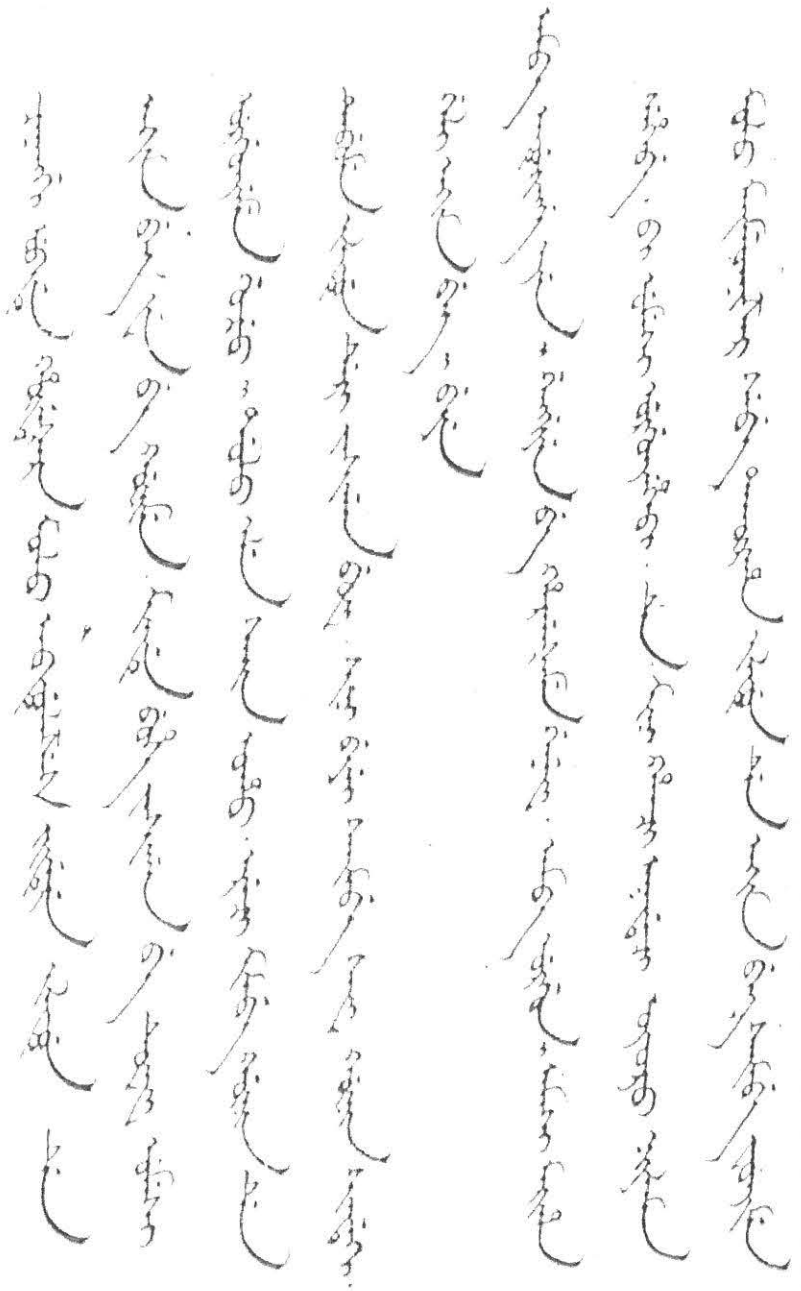

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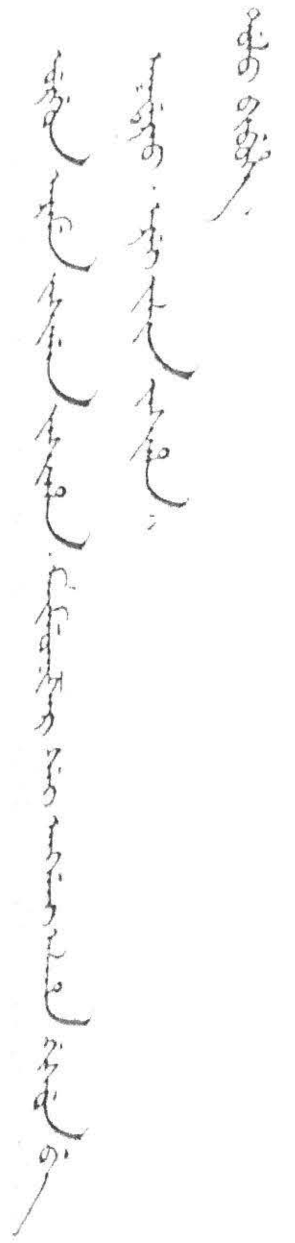

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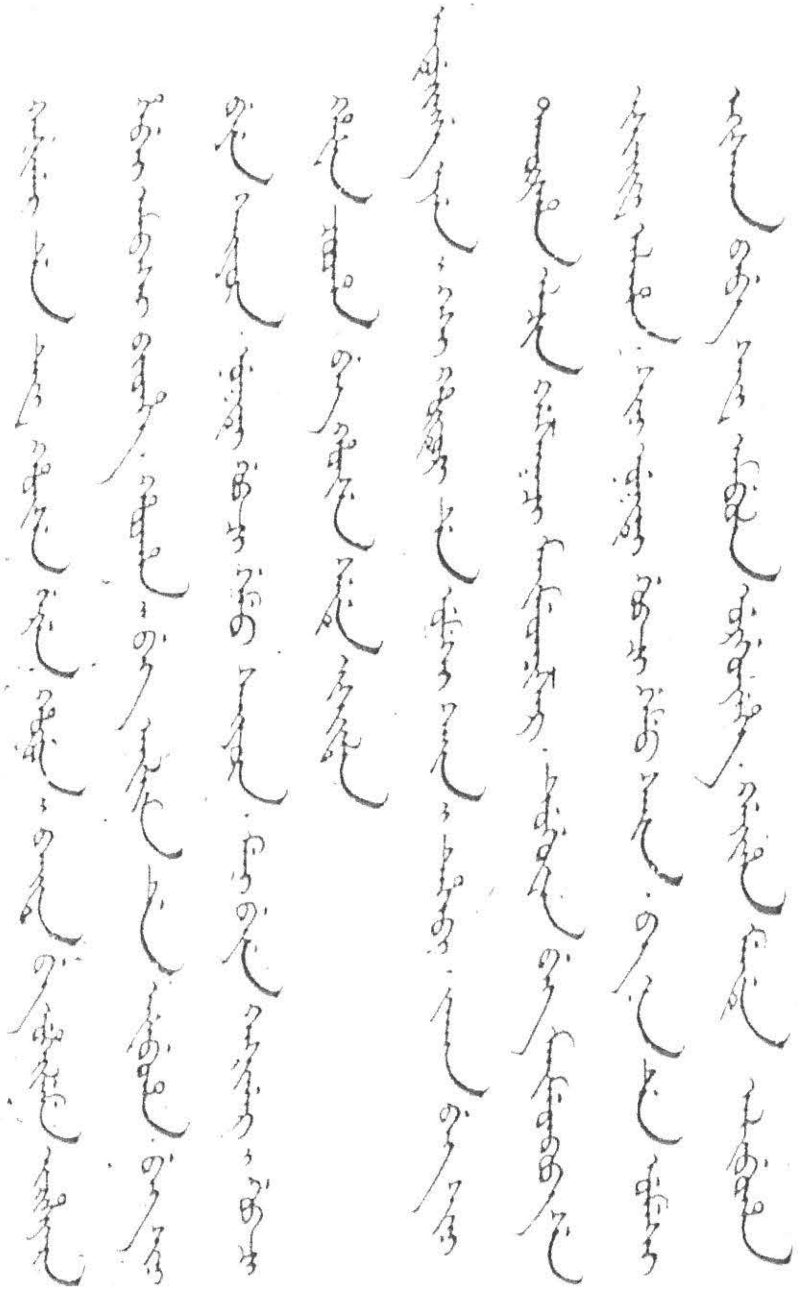

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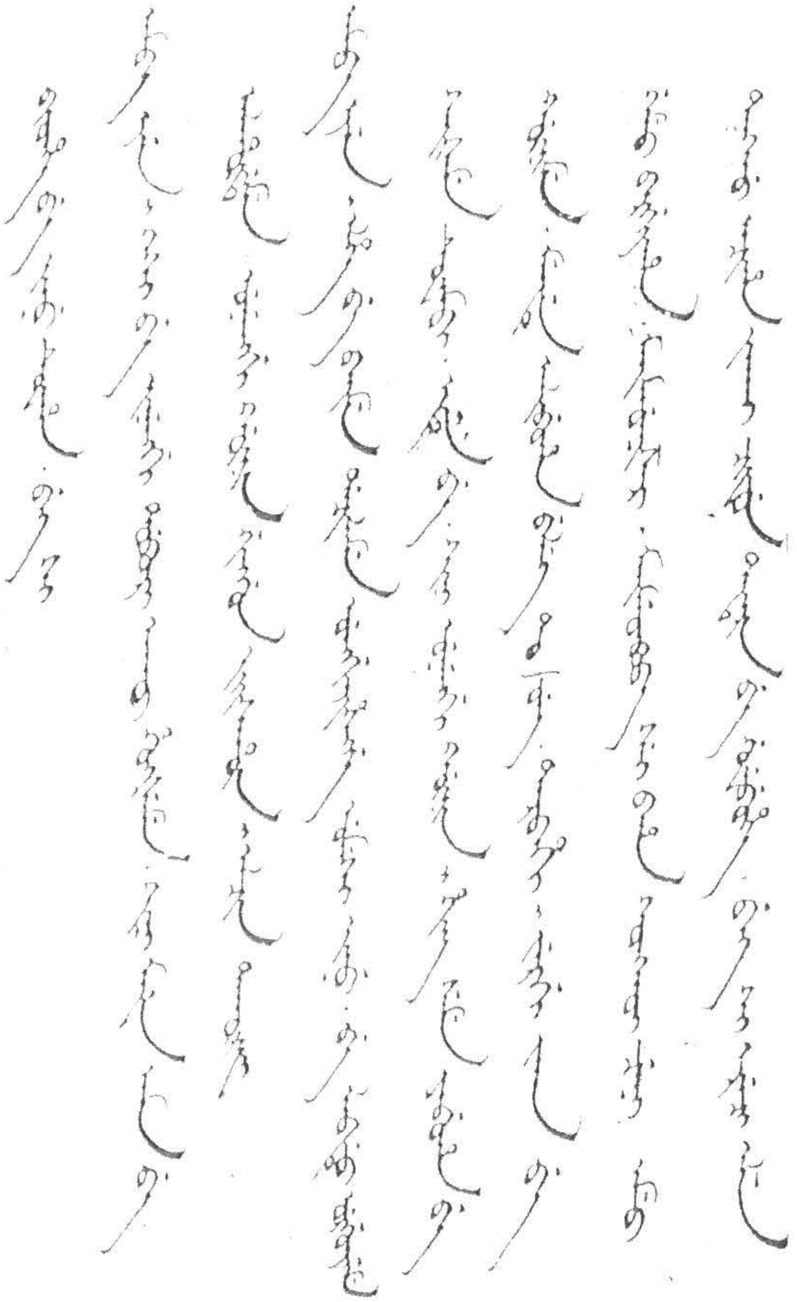

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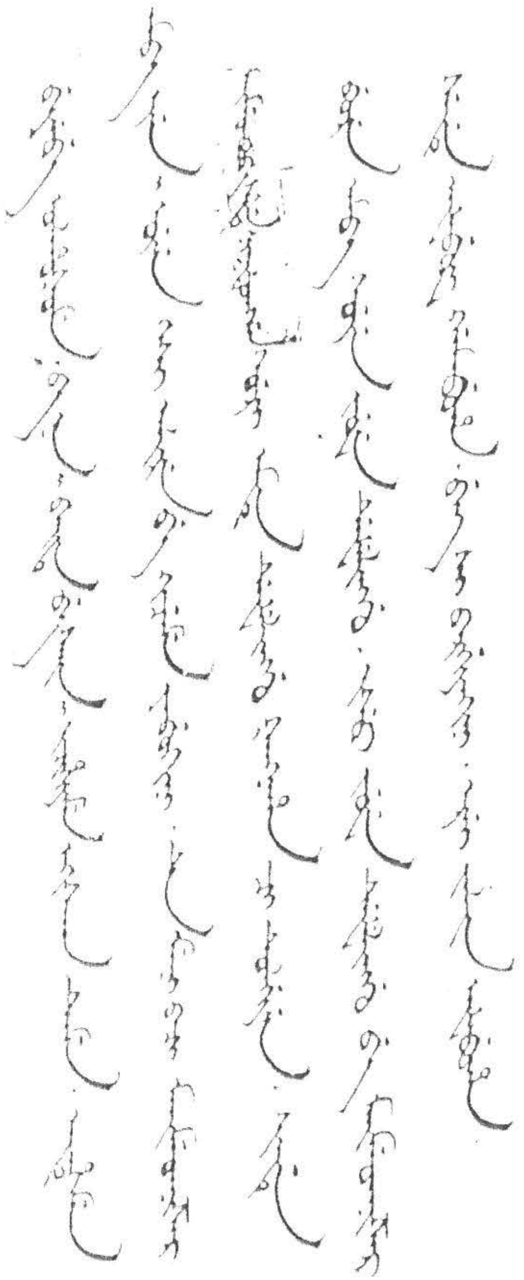

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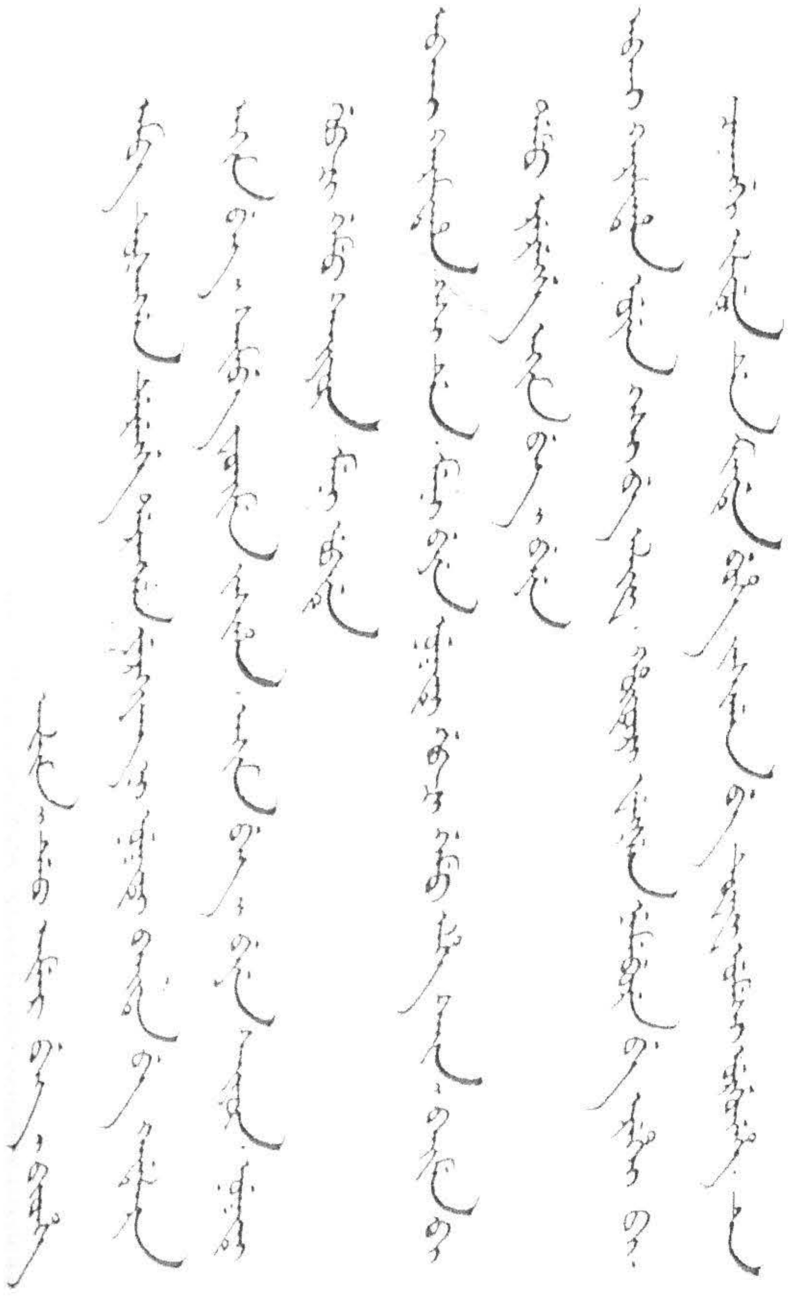

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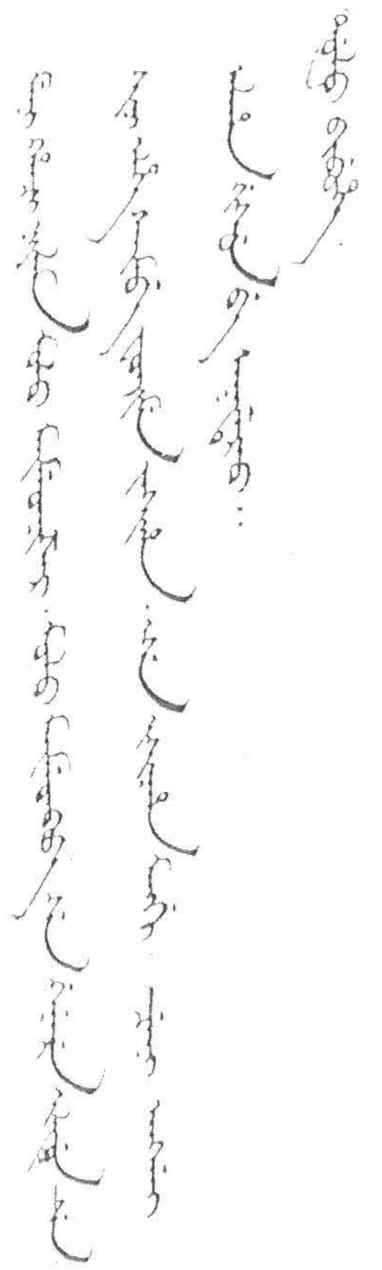

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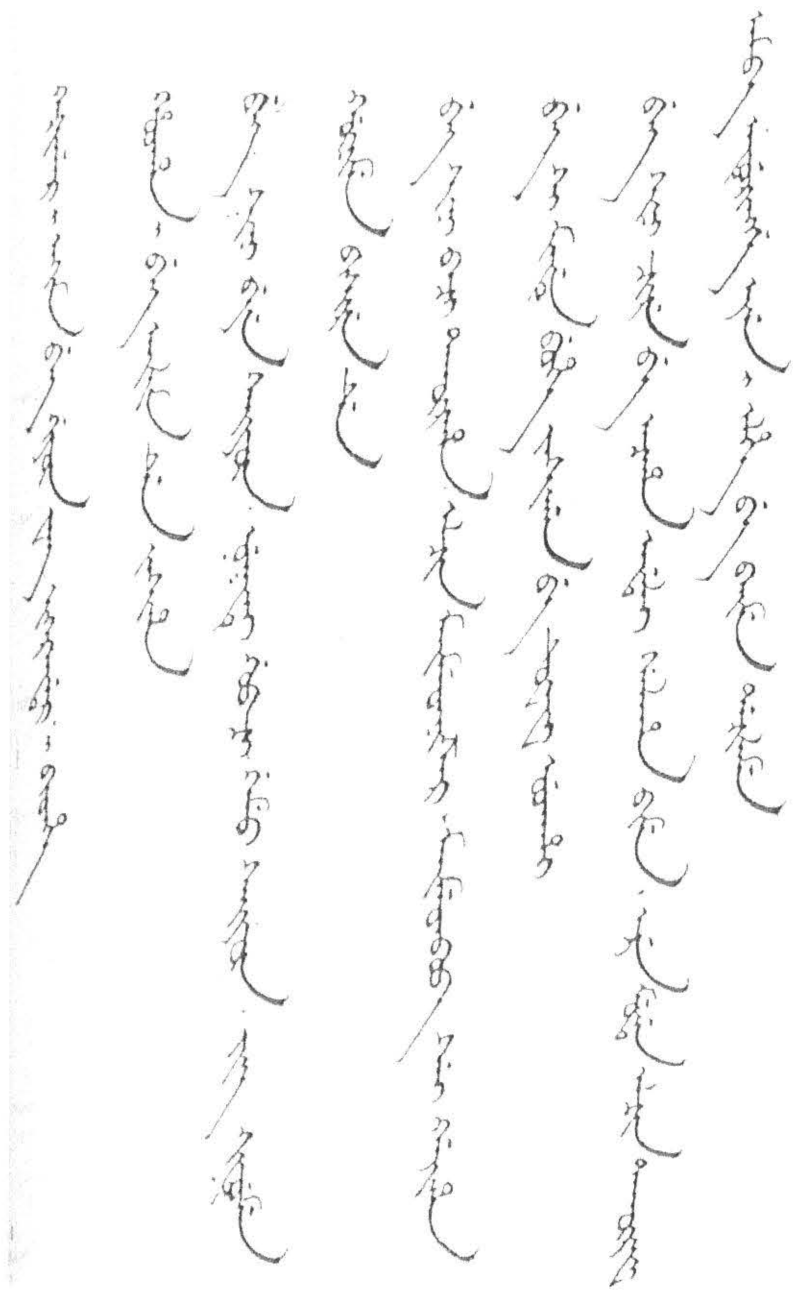

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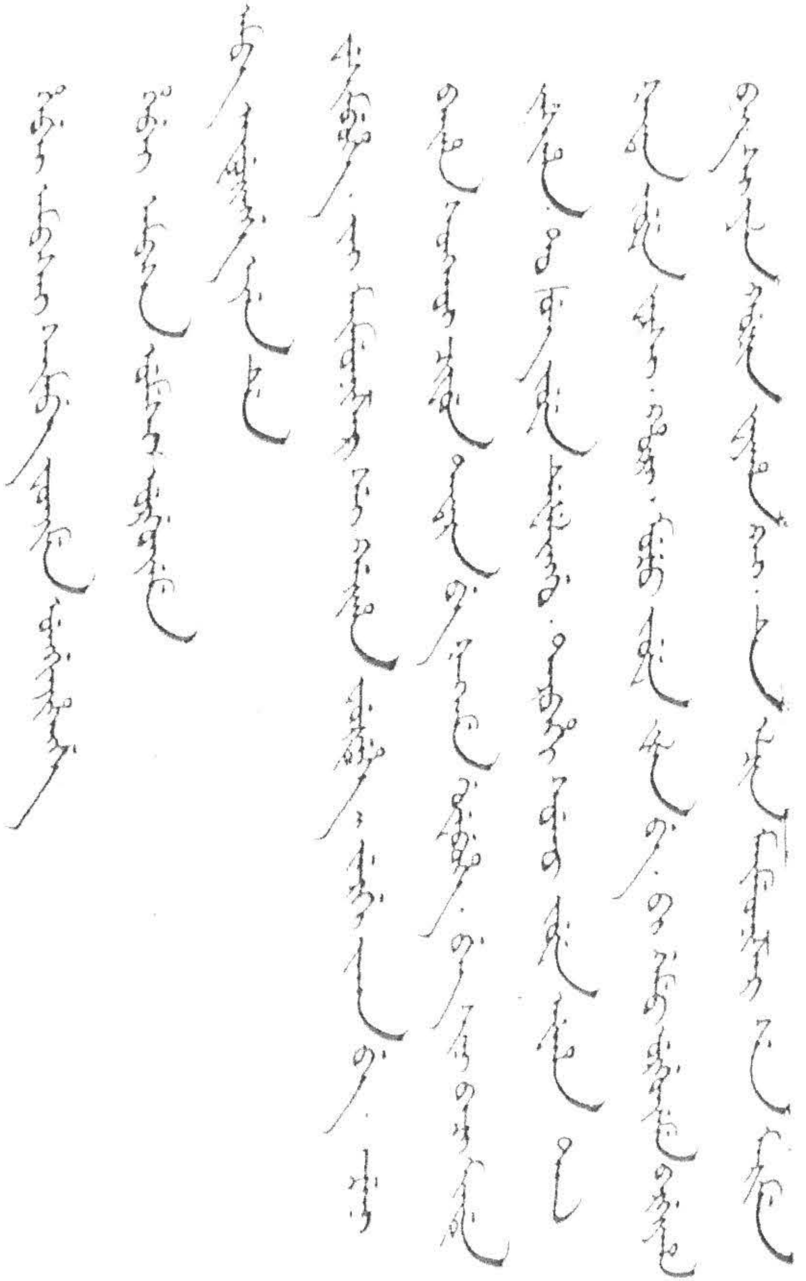

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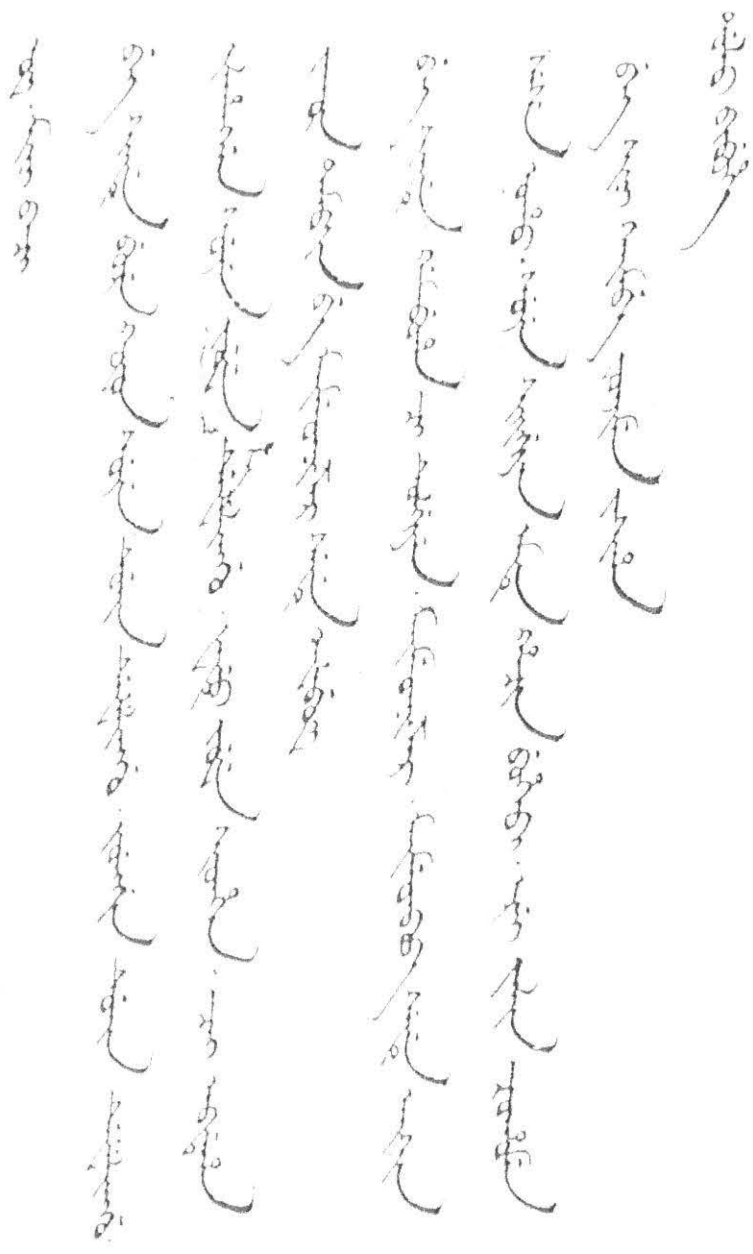

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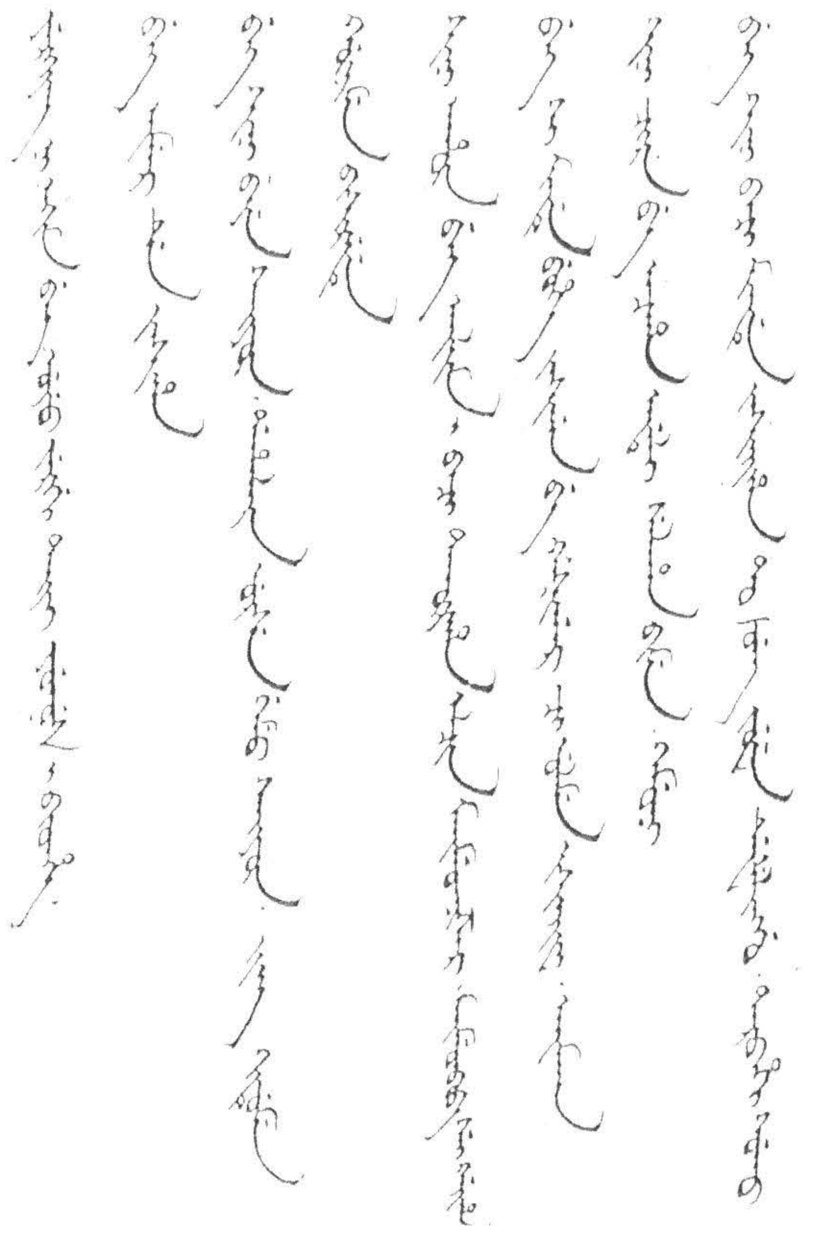

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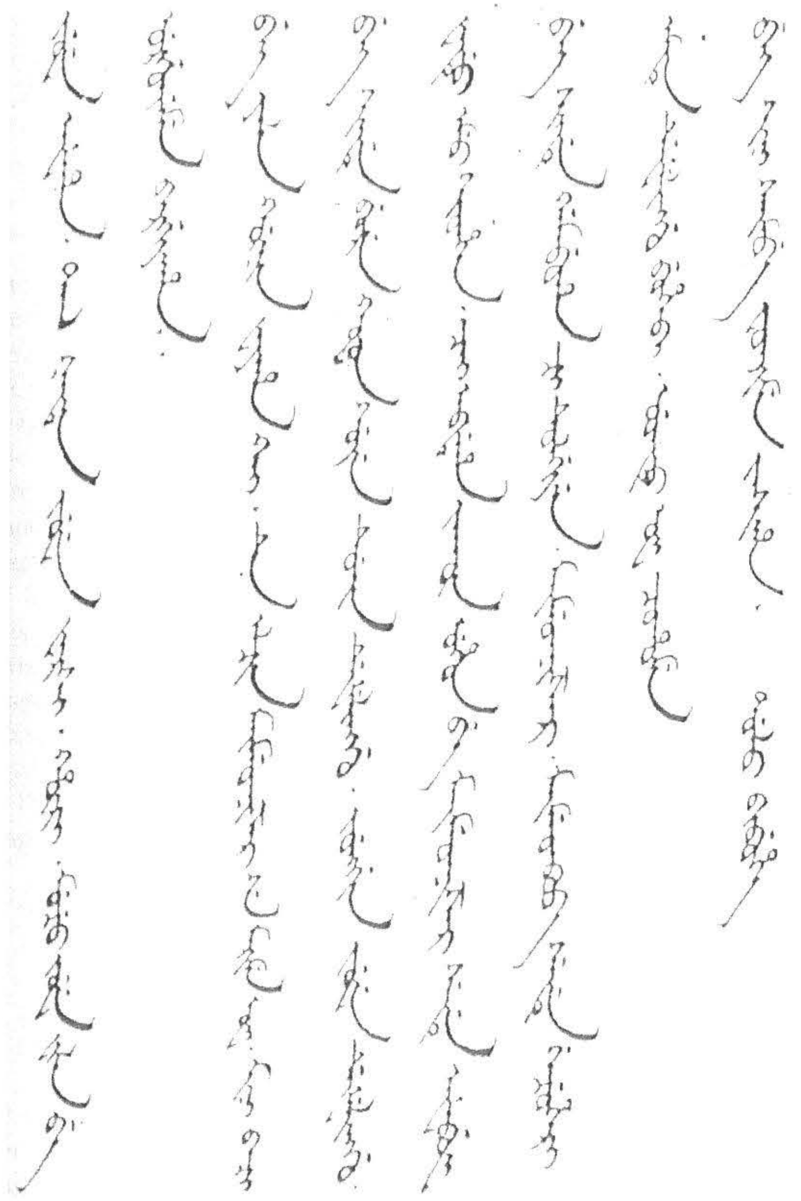

Document 7—p. 1b

■ Source: Pang, Tatiana Aleksandrova, 'A historical sketch of the study and teaching of the Manchu language in Russia (first part: up to 1920)', in *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 35, Nos. 1–2 (1991), Otto Harrassowitz, pp. 123–137.

A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE STUDY AND TEACHING OF THE MANCHU LANGUAGE IN RUSSIA (FIRST PART: UP TO 1920)

Tatiana Aleksandrova Pang

The study of the Manchu language in Russia began with the establishment of trade and diplomatic relations between Russia and Ch'ing-dynasty China. The interpreters taking part in border negotiations and in the caravan trade usually knew the Chinese, Manchu and Mongolian languages. This multilingual ability was necessary because all official Ch'ing documents from the 17th century to the 19th century were issued in all three languages. The Chinese language was spoken by the bulk of China's population; Manchu was the official state language, used for diplomatic negotiations; Mongolian was used in Sino-Russian political relations, and all the documents going from Urga to China proper were copied out in this language as well. As P.E. Skačkov noted, "Russian sinology is characterized by the equal significance of the Chinese, Manchu and Mongolian languages from the very start... In fact, research in Manchu studies, for example, played a big role during the first stages of the establishment of sinology [in Russia]".[1]

The history of Manchu studies in Russia can be broken down into three stages:

1. early 1700s–1855. The study of the Manchu language by the students and staff of the Russian Orthodox Mission in Peking.[2]
2. 1855–1899: Manchu studies at the Kazan' and St. Petersburg Universities.
3. 1899–1920. The works of scholars and instructors of the Oriental Institute in Vladivostok.

Credit for the foundation of Russian Manchu Studies must go to the members of the Russian Orthodox Mission in Peking. From its foundation in 1715 to the Tianjin Treaty of 1858 the Mission, in addition to its sacred duties, performed scholar-diplomatic functions and served as an intermediary in Sino-Russian relations. Its members had to study both the Chinese and the Manchu languages. I.I. Zacharov states that "great experts in the Manchu language" came out of the Peking Mission, creating a great number of important dictionaries, grammars, and studies of the Manchu language, literature, and culture. They produced translations of the essential Manchurian texts, the majority of which have unfortunately remained in manuscript form.

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[1] Skačkov, P.E.: *Očerki istorii russkogo kitaevedenija.* Moscow, 1977, p. 285.

[2] For a detailed history of the Peking Mission see Skačkov, *cit.*

Some of the Mission's most significant Manchu scholars included I.K. Rossochin, A.M. Vladykin, A. Leont'ev, S.V. Lipovcov, P.I. Kamenskij, Z.F. Leont'evskij, as well as many others, of whom S. Couling said that "the Russians were the first Europeans to study the language seriously".[3]

Illarion Kalinivič Rossochin (1707–1761), a student at the Mission from 1729 to 1741, is considered the first Russian sinologist having set the foundations of the study of China, and of the Chinese and Manchu languages. During his stay in Peking, Rossochin completely mastered both languages and translated many texts into Russian. He also taught Russian to Chinese and Manchurian students at the Mission's school using the Smotritskij grammar of the Russian language which he had translated into Manchu with the help of Manchus Fulehe and Mača.[4] Upon returning to Russia, Rossochin was appointed a translator of Chinese and Manchu at the Academy of Sciences. Rossochin was the first person in Russia—indeed, in all of Europe—to teach these two languages at a school he organized under the aegis of the Academy of Sciences, and which existed for ten years. In his teaching, Rossochin used his own translation of Shou Ping's Manchu grammar. "Ch'ing wen ki meng" ("Manchu Language Primer"), first published in China in 1730. This was the first translation of a Manchu grammar into European language; an English translation did not appear until 1855.[5] The Shou Ping volume was the first Manchurian grammar, on the basis of which both Chinese and Europeans studied the Manchu language, considering it an essential text. Working first in Peking, and later in St. Petersburg, Rossochin translated a great number of Chinese and Manchu historical documents. In 1739 he began a translation of the

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[3] Couling, S.: *The Encyclopaedia Sinica.* Shanghai, 1917, p. 324.

[4] The manuscript is now kept in the Manuscript Department of the Oriental Institute, Leningrad; see the catalogue of Volkova, M.P.: *Opisanie man'čžurskich rukopisej Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR.* Moscow, 1965, N. 109.

[5] Wylie, A.: *Translation of the T'sing wan ke mung, a Chinese grammar of the Manchu Tartar language.* Shanghai, 1855.

16-volume "Detailed Account of the Origin and State of the Manchurian People and Army, Consisting of Eight Banners", in which effort he was assisted by A.L. Leont'ev.[6]

Alexej Matveevič Vladykin (?) was a student at the Mission in 1731–1746, where he together with Leont'ev started the work on Manchu-Chinese-Russian dictionary which was finished by the students of the following years. Vladykin wrote the first concise grammar of the Manchu language in Russian, which was used as an example for later works.[7]

Alexej Leont'evič Leont'ev (?–1786) had his first Manchu classes at the Colleague of Foreign affairs in Moscow in 1739. He and another student Kanjaev studied with the first teacher of the Chinese and the Manchu languages in Russia—a captured Chinese Zhou Ge (?–1751),[8] who knew Chinese and Manchu. During that year the students learned how to read and write Manchu, and later Chinese. In 1742 Leont'ev continued his studies as the student of the Peking Mission which he left only in 1754. Upon his return to St. Petersburg he worked as an interpreter in the State Colleague of Foreign Affairs. It was in Peking that Leont'ev compiled the Russian—Manchu—Chinese phrase-book, now kept in the Archives of the Oriental Institute, Leningrad. In 1762 he finished the Rossochin's translation of the "Detailed Account of the Origin and State of the Manchurian People and Army, Consisting of Eight Banners". The translation was published in 1784. For this work Leont'ev was given a title of the Province secretary and money award.

In 1762 Leont'ev opened the school of the Chinese and Manchu languages for the students of the St. Petersburg theological seminary. But very soon, in 1767, he was sent to Kjachta to solve Russian-Chinese border questions. On his return back to St. Petersburg in 1769 Leont'ev translated many Chinese and Manchu books, among them being the first translation of "Si shu gai" ("Four books with explanation", 1780) into the European language; "Daicing guruni uheri kooli" ("The laws and decrees of the Chinese [now Manchu] government in 3 parts", 1781–1783). The famous Russian Soviet bibliographer Skačkov said that "the value of the Leont'ev's works is not only in the vast and multilateral variety of translations, but also in the attempts in his notes and comments to think over many phenomena of Chinese reality; all this shows a great knowledge of the Chinese literature and different sides of the Chinese life in Ch'ing period".[9]

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[6] For detailed biography of Rossochin see Taranovič, V.P.: *Illarion Rossochin: ego trudy po kitaevedenju,* in "Sovetskoe vostokovedenie", III. Moscow, 1945, pp. 225–241.

[7] About it see Zacharov, I.: *Grammatika man'čžurskogo jazyka.* St. Petersburg, 1879, p. VI.

[8] Skačkov, P.E.: *Pervyj prepodavatel' kitajskogo i man'čžurskogo jazykov v Rossii [Dzou Ge]* in "Problemy vostokovedenija", N 3, 1960, pp. 198–201.

Pavel Ivanovič Kamenskij (his monk-name was Peter) (1765–1845) lived for 20 years in Peking, first as a student of the Eighth Mission (1794–1804), then as the head of the tenth Mission (1821–1831). He is known not only for his Russian translations from Manchu but for his Chinese-Mongolian-Manchu-Russian-Latin Dictionary. The Dictionary is compiled according to the topic system, which made Russians difficult to use it in everyday work. That was one of the main reasons why the dictionary was not published.

The Manchu Russian translations, started by Kamenskij, were finished by Stepan Vasil'evič Lipovcov (1770–1841) who was considered to be one of the best manchurists of his time. He compiled "The Manchu primer", Manchu-Chinese-Russian dictionary, translated many Manchu historical documents. His name is also known for the translation into the Manchu language of some parts of the Bible and the New Testament.

Zachar Fedorovič Leont'evskij (1799–1874) was a student at the Tenth mission (1821–1831) in Peking. Then he learned the Chinese and the Manchu. He is mainly known as a sinologist. But in the Manchu studies he succeeded in compiling of the Chinese-Manchu-Latin-Russian dictionary, which consists of 15 parts and is arranged according to the Chinese hieroglyphic keys. For this work Leont'evskij used many Chinese lexicons and his own knowledge of the languages. This dictionary was much more complete and more convenient in usage than Kamenskij's dictionary. For this reason it was a good help in the research work of the sinologists and manchurists. But, unfortunately this work as many other works and translations of Leont'evskij was not published. The manuscript of it is now kept in the Archives of the Oriental Institute, Leningrad.

The students and instructors of the Peking Orthodox mission were the first to acquaint the Russian society with the historical and ideological texts, translated from the Manchu language. Volkova M. noted that "the work on the first translations from Manchu into Russian, compiling the first multi-lingual dictionaries and grammars for studying Manchu all this was going along with the detailed working out of the political, administrative and linguistic terms of this language. At that time the scholars prepared all the necessary sources for the future scholarly research".[10]

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[9] Skačkov, P.E.: *Očerki...*, pp. 75–76.

In the middle of the 19th c. it became necessary to start the teaching of the Chinese and Manchu on the University level and prepare the specialists in these languages, in literature and ethnography of Ch'ing China. The first faculty of the Manchu language was opened in 1844 in the Kazan' University headed by the first professor in Manchu Osip Pavlovič Voicechovskij (1793–1850). He lived in Peking from 1821 to 1831 working as a doctor at the Tenth Mission. Though being occupied with the medical care of the Mission members, he found time to learn Chinese and Manchu. It was in Peking where he started his work on a Chinese-Manchu-Russian dictionary in 3 volumes. Upon his return from China he was appointed a doctor of the St. Petersburg Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affaires, but very soon Voicechovskij was invited to the Kazan' University as a deen of the Chinese-Manchu faculty. At the lessons with the students Voicechovskij read and made grammar comments to the Manchu texts of "Ch'ing wen ki meng" ("The Manchu Language Primer"), "Ambatacin" ("The Great Teaching") and others. Reading these texts the students used Voicechovskij's Chinese-Manchu-Russian dictionary, which he started in Peking, worked on in St. Petersburg and finished in Kazan'. This three volume dictionary was bought by the Kazan' University Library, and now only 51 pages of this work are left.[11] Voicechovskij had written down his grammar course which was known as "The Grammar rules of the Manchu language, never explained before".

Voicechovskij died in 1850, November 7, and a year after his death there was no instructor of the Chinese and Manchu languages at the University. In 1851 this chair was given to Vasil'ev, who had just arrived from China.

Vasilij Pavlovič Vasil'ev (1818–1900) became the student of the Oriental department of the Philological Faculty, Kazan' University, in 1834.

After having graduated the Kazan' University, mongolian section, in 1837 and defended his thesis in 1839, he was sent to China for 10 years as the member of the Twelfth Mission. According to the program, worked out by O.M. Kovalevskij—Vasil'ev's instructor at the University, Vasil'ev was supposed to study literature, history, ethnography, religion, trade and industry of China, Tibet, Manchuria and Mongolia, the Chinese and the Manchu languages. On his return back Vasil'ev was appointed the teacher of the Chinese-Manchu faculty, where he worked for 5 years. In 1850 in the Kazan' University there were 33 students learning oriental languages, among them 11 people studied in the Chinese-Manchu class. In 1855 before the Oriental faculty of the Kazan' University was closed there were only 24 students 5 of them studying Chinese and Manchu.[12]

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[10] Volkova, M.P.: *Man'čžurovedenie.*—In "Aziatskij Musei—Leningradskoe otdelenie Instituta vostokovedenija AN SSSR", Moscow, 1972, p. 143.

[11] Skačkov, P.E.: *Očerki...*, p. 419.

In 1855 the Chinese-Manchu faculty of the Kazan' University was transferred to St. Petersburg University and Vasil'ev moved to St. Petersburg, where he headed the Chinese philology department. Since there were no manchurists there he was suggested to read some lectures at the Manchu department. According to the University regulations of 1863 an independent Manchu philology department was united with the Chinese department. Vasil'ev read lectures on the Manchu language for 12 years there. He had to work out the program of teaching the language, which included grammar, reading of Manchu original and translated into Manchu texts. To help the students, Vasil'ev compiled "The Manchu reader"[13] and the Manchu-Russian dictionary.[14] "The Manchu reader" was the first textbook on the Manchu language, published in Russia. It contains the original manchu texts without the Chinese version and translation: "A short encyclopedia" with didactic phrases; "Examples of the spoken language" with 17 dialogues from "Tanggū meyen" ("The hundred chapters") and 40 dialogues from "Ch'ing wen ch'i meng" ("The Manchu language primer"); "The Relations with Russia", where one can find diplomatic and official documents of the Russian embassies. Thus the book gives the samples of different styles of the Manchu language.

Reading this "Manchu reader" and other texts the students used Vasil'ev's "Russian-Manchu dictionary", which "contains the most frequently used words of Manchu lexicon, gives exact meanings of the words and thanks to this is much better than three-volume Manchu-French dictionary by Amiot (*Dictionnaire-tartare-mantchou-françois.* Paris, 1789–90), which gives vague meanings and could be hardly used".[15] Vasil'ev used

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[12] Bartol'd, V.: *Polnoe sobranie sočinenija,* Vol. IX, Moscow, 1977, p. 83.

[13] Vasil'ev, V.: *Man'čžurskaja chrestomatija dlja pervonačal'nogo prepodavanija.* St. Petersburg, 1863.

[14] Vasil'ev, V.: *Man'čžursko-russkij slovar'.* Lithograph. St. Petersburg, 1866.

[15] Paškov, B.: *Vklad russkich učenych v izučenie man'čžurskogo jazyka i pis'mennosti.—* In "Kratkie soobščenija Instituta vostokovedenija XVIII, Jazykoznanie". Moscow, 1956, p. 9.

the Russian alphabet to arrange the words, but the words in every lexical group were put in the Manchu order. For a very long period of time "The Manchu Reader" and the dictionary were the only sources to learn the Manchu language.

In 1868 Zacharov I.I., was elected a professor of the Manchu philology at the Oriental Faculty of St. Petersburg University. Ivan Il'ič Zacharov (1814–1885) was the student of the Peking Mission in 1840–1849, where he studied Manchu and Chinese. There he started his well-known Manchu-Russian Dictionary. He participated in the Russian-Chinese interrogations in 1851, being the interpreter for Kovalevskij E.P., and after that Zacharov stayed in Kul'dža as a Russian consul till 1864. From 1864 till 1866 he worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and on January 9, 1869 Zacharov started his Manchu lectures at the Chinese-Manchu department of the St. Petersburg Oriental Faculty.[16] The students of the first course read "Ch'ing wen ch'i meng" with Zacharov's comments and translated the texts of Vasil'ev's Manchu reader". The students of the second course read more difficult texts from the "Manchu reader" and were taught to translate from Russian into Manchu orally. On the third and fourth courses Zacharov taught the students to read Manchu novels, histories of Chinese dynasties and translate diplomatic documents from Russian into Manchu. Zacharov's life works are "The Complete Manchu-Russian dictionary"[17] and "The Grammar of the Manchu language".[18]

Zacharov worked for 20 years compiling his dictionary, which he started in Peking. Speaking about the importance of this work Vasil'ev V.P. and Minaev I.P. said that "Mr. Zacharov's dictionary could be used by everyone, because the Manchu text is added with the Russian transcription; it is much better in its completeness than the European lexicons (by Amyot and Gabelentz); and one could guarantee that neither Manchu word nor its meaning with all its shades is missing. The characteristics of the words are exact, and when it is necessary full descriptions of the unknown subject are given as well as the explanations of the history, traditions and habits of the people. These last features make [the dictionary] a precious treasure not only for a linguist, but for an ethnographer and archeologist either."[19] Zacharov's dictionary is based on the texts and different lexicons, both Chinese and European. The words are arranged according to Manchu syllabary. Till nowadays this dictionary is the only one published Manchu-Russian dictionary and is used for the translations into Russian. For this work Zacharov was given the highest award of the Russian Geographic Society—the Medal of Konstantine, noting that "a great and long lasted work of Mr. Zacharov is of the first importance both for political and scholarly acquaintance with the Manchu language and the study of everyday life of the Manchurian people. It leaves far behind all foreign attempts in this field, and surely leads to new and important scientific discoveries thus giving a great honour to the Russian science".[20]

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[16] More about Zacharov see: *Ivan Il'ič Zacharov (1817–1885). Russischer Diplomat und Sinologe.* Eine bibliographische Skizze von H. Walravens. Hamburg, 1982.

[17] Zacharov, I.I.: *Polnyi man'čžursko-russkij slovar'.* St. Petersburg, 1875.

[18] Zacharov, I.I.: *Grammatika man'čžurskogo jazyka'.* St. Petersburg, 1879.

In 1879 Zacharov published his second great work—"Grammar of the Manchu language", which consists of introduction, Manchu-writing and pronunciation and the main part—morphology. Zacharov, as he wrote at the end of the book, planned to publish the second part—syntaxis of the language. But unfortunately, he was not able to do it during his life, later this manuscript was lost.

The main aim of Zacharov's Grammar was "to teach to understand and translate the Manchu speech".[21] The author used Latin tradition in terms and order of description of the language, thus trying to find the Manchu examples for the Latin grammar categories. This method was typical to the linguistics of the end of the 19th c. and doesn't make the Grammar of worth value. Zacharov knew the spoken Manchu and a great number of texts which helped him to describe the Manchu morphology and give the examples of different language styles. Zacharov also knew the grammars published before and one of them being A. Orlov's "Grammar of the Manchu language".[22] Orlov was the teacher of the Mongol language at the Irkutsk theological seminary. He didn't know Manchu and used the Manchu books with Mongol traditions. Thinking of Mongolian as being very much close to Manchu he described the Manchu grammar deriving from the Mongolian grammar that he knew well. Thus this work is interesting in comparing these two languages.

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[19] *Otzyvy deistvitel'nych členov V.P. Vasil'eva i I.P. Minaeva o trude člena sotrudnika, professora Imperatorskogo S. Peterburgskogo Universiteta, I.I. Zacharova—"Polnyi man'čžursko-russkij slovar"*.—See *Otč'ety imperatorskogo Russkogo geografičeskogo obščestva za 1877 g.* SPb., 1878. Priloženie I, p. 40.

[20] *Otzyvy* ..., p. 15.

[21] Zacharov, I.I.: *Grammatika man'čžurskogo jazyka*, SPb., 1879, p. VIII.

[22] Orlov, A.: *Grammatika man'čžurskogo jazyka.* St. Petersburg, 1873.

Zacharov had been the professor of Manchu at the St. Petersburg University till 1885. After his death (September 20, 1885) there were no professors of the Manchu language at the Oriental faculty. This time Vasil'ev V.P. asked the administration "to leave him from the heavy burden for his age—teaching Manchu, that drives him away from his main responsibilities".[23] The Faculty asked Alexej Osipovič Ivanovskij (1863–1903), who had just graduated the Chinese and Manchu philology department, to lecture there. During his two years trip to China (1884–1891) the professor of Mongolian philology Alexej Matveevič Pozdneev (1851–1903) gave lectures on Manchu. Except these 2 years, Ivanovskij taught Manchu till 1900. As the result of his trip to China he brought a great collection of Manchu literature, the materials on Solon and Daghur languages that helped him to become one of the highly educated manchurists.[24]

In 1893 in St. Petersburg Ivanovskij published his "Manchu Reader", reprinted in 1895, which unlike Vasil'ev's "Reader" includes texts in Manchu, Chinese and its transcription. Ivanovskij's "Manchu Reader" has original Manchu stories written down by the academician Radlov V.V. during his stay in China. His Reader gives all the samples of the Manchu literature, since it has the pieces of official documents, classics, novels and private letters.

After the death of Vasil'ev (in 1900) and Ivanovskij (in 1903) there were no teachers of Manchu at the Oriental faculty of the St. Petersburg University. At the beginning of the 20th century some lectures on Manchu were read by Kotvič B.A. and Rudnev A.

The cutting down of Manchu program in the S.P. University could be also explained by the establishment of the Oriental Institute in 1899 in Vladivostok where the students were taught the languages of the peoples of Far East and were prepared to be interpreters. In the opening speech the first director of the Oriental Institute Pozdneev A.M. said about the Institute: "The Oriental Institute whose aim is to prepare students for the service in the administrative and commercial or industrial institutions of the East-Asian Russia and ajoining countries, now is the unique Institute not only in Russia, but in whole Europe. To satisfy this goal the teaching of the oriental languages in it should have practical features, and besides, the students should be acquainted with the natural features and economical life as well as with legal relations of different countries of the East Asia."[25]

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[23] Bartol'd, V.V.: *Polnoe sobranie sočinenija*, Vol. IX, Moscow, 1977, p. 180.

[24] About Ivanovskij see also Walravens, H.: *Aleksej Osipovič Ivanovskij. A little known Russian orientalist. A biographical sketch.* Hamburg, 1982, pp. 1–2.

There were 4 faculties at the Institute: the Chinese-Manchu (the largest), the Chinese-Japanese, the Chinese-Korean and the Chinese-Mongolian faculties. From 1899 to 1903 the Manchu language was taught by Pozdneev A.A.; in 1901–1902 academic year he was assisted by the daghur lector Yong-sheng—56 years old, who for 16 years was *xie-ling* in the town Mergen. Pozdneev characterized Young-sheng as a great expert in the Mongolian and Manchu languages as well as in life of Northern Manchuria.[26]

The documents of the Oriental Institute have Pozdneev's "Review of the teaching at Manchu philology department" for the students of the second and third courses. The specialization in languages was started on the second course, and the manchurists had theoretical and practical courses. The theoretical course (3 lectures a week) included: 1) the Manchu grammar: reading, writing, the history of the Manchu script; 2) Aetiology, lexicology, parts of speech; 3) Syntax of the Manchu sentence. The practical course was divided into 2 parts: the translation into Russian of the texts from Vasil'ev's "Manchu reader" (with the professor) and practice in the spoken language and reading of "Ch'ing wen ki meng" (with lector 2 times a week).[27]

The students of the third course in 1902–1903 academic year were taught by Pozdneev to read and translate diplomatic documents, historical texts and fiction. Besides they listened to Rudakov A.V. lectures on the Chinese and Manchu literature and the administrative Manchuria.

Pozdneev used Vasil'ev's "Manchu reader" for his lections on the language. But, unlike the program of St. Petersburg University, where it was read during 4 years, he used it for 1.5 years. Thus it became necessary to have new books on Manchu language "to complete and publish a new Manchu reader, which, on one hand, will give the example of language and style of all sides of Manchu literature, on the other hand, will have a practical usage, what is the aim of the Oriental Institute".[28] The reader of this kind became Pozdneev's "The Experimental Collection of the Samples of the Manchu literature".[29]

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[25] *Izvestija Vostočnogo Instituta.* Vol. 2, issue 1. Vladivostok, 1900, p. 4.

[26] *Izvestija*... Vol. 3. Supplement. Vladivostok, 1902, p. 55.

[27] *Izvestija*... Vol. 2, issue 1. Vladivostok, 1900, pp. 31–32.

[28] *Izvestija.* Supplement. Vladivostok, 1902, p. 71.

[29] Pozdneev, A.: *Opyt sobranija obrazcov man'čžurskoj literatury.* In: *Izvestija*... Vladivostok III/1 (1901), pp. 1–32; III/2 (1902), pp. 33–80; III/3 (1902), pp. 81–120; III/4 (1902),

One of the main parts of student's studies were the summer trips to Northern Manchuria, where students had to collect folk literature or some materials on economy and life of the peoples and write an account about the trip. These student's accounts sometimes were of scientific interest and the best were published in the "Izvestija Vostočnogo Instituta" ("The News of the Oriental Institute") and the authors were given an award.

At the beginning of 1902–1903 academic year prof. Pozdneev asked the Conference of the Institute to appoint Apollinarij Vasil'evic Rudakov (1871–1949), the professor of the Chinese philology, to read some lectures for manchurists of the third course. In his appeal Pozdneev wrote: "The Conference knows prof. Rudakov as a specialist in the Chinese language who had been deeply acquainted with the theory of the Manchu language at the St. Petersburg University and later studied it in Peking. His already published works about Manchuria prove that he knows the Manchu language and is one of the first specialists in administrative and economic systems of modern Manchuria".[30] The Rudakov's lecture "About the administrative system of Manchuria with the sketch of its economic life"[31] was included into the curriculum of the third and fourth course. The students of the fourth course also had practical work in the Manchu archives of the Institute; they were trained to speak and retell the texts, composed letters and translated from Russian into Manchu.[32]

In 1903 prof. Pozdneev left the chair of the Director of the Oriental Institute and the head of Manchu department for the Ministry of People's Education and Piotr Petrovič Schmidt (1869–1938) started lectures on Manchu philology in the Institute. He paid much attention to the studies of the Tungus-Manchu languages and the place of Manchu in this language group. Being the professor of the Chinese philology he was interested in the problems of Chinese loan-words in Manchu. Among his works published in the "Izvestija..." is the Manchu reader ("Text book of the Manchu language"). It consists of 2 parts: Chinese and Manchu texts written in the spoken language (mainly dialogues) and pieces by

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pp. 121–168; III/5 (1902), pp. 169–216; IV (1903), pp. 217–272; V (1903), pp. 273–360; VII (1903), pp. 375–406.

[30] *Izvestija*... Vol. 3. Supplement. Vladivostok, 1902, p. 168.

[31] *Izvestija*... Vol. 3. Supplement. Vladivostok, 1902, p. 168.

[32] *Izvestija*... Vol. 12. Vladivostok, 1904, pp. 25–26.

Lio Zhai.[33] Schmidt also published a "Mongol-Chinese-Manchu dictionary with Russian-French translation".[34]

Alexander Vasil'evic Grebenščikov (1880–1941) was among the students of professors Rudakov and Schmidt. In 1909 the papers of the Institute published a historical sketch on the 10th anniversary of the foundation of the Oriental Institute, where it was mentioned that in 1907 Grebenščikov was given a chair at the Manchu philology department which he had graduated that year, with great success.[35] In 1907–1908 Grebenščikov studied the main works in modern linguistics, paying much attention to the phonetics of the spoken languages. In spring 1908 he travelled in North-Eastern Manchuria and in October 1908 in Peking he studied the Chinese system of teaching Manchu and bought the books for his famous collection of the Manchu texts. As the result of the trip he published two detailed works: "The modern studies of the Manchu language in China"[36] and "A short sketch of the examples of the Manchu literature".[37] In China Grebenščikov collected materials for his master dissertation "A review of literary shaman monument in Manchu".

In 1911 after his studies in China and St. Petersburg University on the application of the Conference of the Oriental Institute Grebenščikov was given a vacant post of the Manchu language professor. One can judge from the "Review of the curriculum of the Manchu department for 1911–1912 academic year"[38] how thoroughly Grebenščikov prepared the program of studies:

II course: Theory (3 lectures a week)—the Manchu spoken and written language; the origin and development of Manchu script; scholarly and

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[33] Schmidt, P.P.: *Učebnik man'čžurskogo jazyka.*—In *Izvestija* . . . Vol. 18, issue 1–2. Vladivostok, 1908.

[34] Schmidt, P.P.: *Mongol'sko-kitajsko-man'čžurskij slovar' v russko-francuzskom perevode.* In *Izvestija* . . . Vol. 3. Issue 1–2, Vlad., 1903. For Schmidt's biography and bibliography see Walravens, H.: *Peter Schmidt, Ostasienwissenschaftler, Linguist und Folklorist. Eine vorläufige Biographie.*—Asiatische Forschungen Bd. 80, "Florilegia Manjurica in Memoriam W. Fuchs". Wiesbaden, 1982, pp. 106–185.

[35] *Izvestija* . . . Vol. 11. Supplement 1. Vladivostok, 1900, pp. 9–10.

[36] Grebenščikov, A.V.: *Sovremennoe izučenie man'čžurskogo jazyka v Kitaje.* Vladivostok, 1913.

[37] Grebenščikov, A.V.: *Kratkij očerk obrazcov man'čžurskoj literatury.* Vladivostok, 1909.

[38] *Izvestija* . . . Vol. 13. Supplement 2. Vladivostok, 1914, pp. 1–7. More about Grebenščikov see: *Zwei wenig bekannte russische Ostasienwissenschaftler: A.V. Rudakov und A.V. Grebenščikov.* Bibliographien zusammengestellt von Hartmut Walravens, Hamburg, 1983, pp. 21a–27.

practical aims and importance of the Manchu studies; the Manchu grammar-syntax of the simple sentence;

Practice—translations; practical lessons with a lector (3 hours a week)—phonetics and retelling of "Ch'ing wen ki meng".

III course: Theory-syntax of the compound sentence; review of the Manchu history and literature.

Practice—translations, practical lessons with a lector, retelling and written exercises.

IV course: Theory-aetyology-Manchu in comparison with other languages of tungus-manchu group.

Practice—translations, lessons on handwriting styles, retelling of the Manchu modern official documents.

Grebenščikov paid much attention to the studies of spoken languages and founded the Study of experimental phonetics in the Oriental Institute. In his opening speech he said: "The main task of these who now work on the Manchu department is to fix down the Manchu speech, to use the interesting data of these languages as much as possible (in the sense of getting raw material) especially now, when it is pushed aside by the Chinese language".[39]

One of Grebenščikov's major works is "The Manchus, their language and script".[40] Using different legends and historical data he shows the origin of Manchus, the common roots of Jurchen and Manchu. He proves that in the beginning of the 20th c. the Manchu language was not "dead" (as many scholars thought in those days), but was spoken in many provinces of North-East Manchuria. Grebenščikov gives a detailed history of the development of Manchu script and alphabet.

The Oriental Institute existed for 20 years and in 1920 was reorganized into the Oriental faculty of the Far-Eastern State University (Vladivostok). The work of the scholars and the instructors of the Oriental Institute was characterized by Paškov B.: "The Oriental Institute left a precious heritage in the Manchu studies. The regard and study of it help and will help further development of Soviet science in the field of Manchu philology."[41]

The representatives of Russian Manchu studies laid the beginning for a deep and thorough studies of material and spiritual life of Manchus.

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[39] *Izvestija* . . . Vol. 13. Supplement 2. Vladivostok, 1912, p. 99.

[40] Grebenščikov, A.V.: *Man'čžury, ich jazyk i pis'mennost'.* Vladivostok, 1912.

[41] Paškov, *Vklad* . . ., p. 18.

Russian orientalists paid much attention to the Manchu documents and texts, and thanks to this they gathered valuable collection of Manchu literature, and made first Russian translations of the most important materials. The Russian manchurists did both: philological research and studied history, social and economic life of the people. They were great experts in the Manchu language, which they studied together with Chinese and sometimes Mongolian, paying much attention on compiling Manchu-Russian or Manchu-Chinese-Russian dictionaries.

On the eve of the 19th and 20th centuries the Manchu studies (especially the works of Schmidt and Grebenščikov) included some new problems of the time—the comparison study of Tungus-Manchu languages.

Thus all the materials, gathered by Russian manchurists during more than 200 years, till now are important sources for studies of the language and life of Manchus. This is proved by the great interest in the heritage of Russian manchurists nowadays.[42]

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[42] See Kaluzynski, S.: *Die Sprache des mandschurischen Stammes Sibe aus der Gegend von Kuldscha.* Warszawa, 1977; Ivanovskij, A.O.: *Mandjurica*... with a foreword in English by G. Kara. Budapest, 1982; the publications of biobibliography and works by H. Walravens: *Ivan Il'ič Zacharov (1817–1885) Russischer Diplomat und Sinologe.* Hamburg, 1982; *Ivan A. Lopatin. Erforscher der tungusischen Amurstämme.* Hamburg, 1982; *Alexej Agafonov. Ein unbekannter russischer Ostasienwissenschaftler des 18. Jahrhunderts.* Hamburg, 1982; *Alexej Osipovič Ivanovskij—a little known Russian orientalist.* Hamburg, 1982; *Zwei wenig bekannte russische Ostasienwissenschaftler: A.V. Rudakov und A.V. Grebenščikov.* Hamburg, 1983.

PART TWO

HISTORICITY AND STATECRAFT

■ Source: Durrant, Stephen, 'The controversy among Western Sinologists regarding the utility of Sino-Manchu translations', in Ch'en Chieh-hsien (ed.), *Proceedings of International Ch'ing Archives Symposium*, July 2, 1978–July 6, 1978, Taipei, China. Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1982, pp. 66–80.

THE CONTROVERSY AMONG WESTERN SINOLOGISTS REGARDING THE UTILITY OF SINO-MANCHU TRANSLATIONS

Stephen W. Durrant

The steady stream of Manchu documents published in the past several years by scholars here in the Republic of China has not only increased our knowledge of early Ch'ing history but has also provided a new stimulus for the study of the Manchu language. Indeed, in a recent volume of the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Professor Lynn Struve wrote that "it is to be expected that students of ethnic and institutional problem in the early Ch'ing have at least some facility in reading Manchu."[1] Several years ago Professor Herbert Franke noted that the "focus of Manchu studies has now shifted to the original sources and documents in this language which are available."[2] These remarks by professors Struve and Franke are sustained by the convocation of this symposium and the attention given at this meeting to Manchu language texts. As we step into a new period when the study of the Manchu language hopefully will gain renewed emphasis, it is worth-while to pause and reflect back on the influential and interesting role played by Manchu studies in the history of Western sinology. It is the purpose of this paper to make a modest contribution to the understanding of that role, giving major space to the controversy among early Western sinologists regarding the utility of Manchu language studies for the interpretation of classical Chinese texts.

Although several of the Catholic missionaries who lived in China during the latter years of the Ming dynasty mastered the Chinese language mastered the Chinese language as it has rarely been mastered by foreigners since, they frequently complainted about the arduous effort such mastery required. The Dominican Father Domingo Navarrete proclaimed the Chinese language "doubtless the most difficult in the world... dreadful and stupendious; there are few but find great discouragement in it."[3]

After the Manchus seized Peking in 1644 and began to consolidate their power throughout China, Catholic fathers became aware of "Tartar," the name by which they knew the language of the Manchus,[4] and they frequently commented upon the relative ease with which this new language could be learned. For example, Father Gabriel de Magalhaes, a missionary in Szechwan Province when the Manchus defeated the Chinese rebel Chang Hsien-chung in 1647, noted that "Their (i.e., the Manchus) letters and much more their languages are easy to learn . . ."[5]

Unlike Chinese, Manchu script could be quickly learned, and Manchu grammar clearly marked such features as aspect, mood and case, making it much more approachable for the native European. One of the fathers reported that "if I had only known Chinese, I should not have been able to achieve any success in my undertakings. The Manchu language is after the style of European languages; it has its methods and its rules; briefly speaking, one sees one's way clearly." And then, giving the would-be student a bit of encouragement, he added, "five or six years would suffice for any active man to acquire a good knowledge enabling him to read with profit all books written in Manchu."[6] Some of the missionaries learned more than just written Manchu as indicated by the Kang Hsi Emperor's statement that "I discussed Western skills in Manchu with Verbiest; and I made Grimaldi and Pereira learn the language as well, so they could converse with me."[7]

The latter half of the 17th Century was a period in which a large number of Chinese books were translated into Manchu. Although these translations were intended as tools for the Manchus to gain an understanding of Chinese traditions and values,[8] they were not only devoured by Manchus but also by Westerners who needed useful aids for their own study of Chinese texts. Soon Manchu translations acquired such status among Westerners that they were treated almost as primary sources. For example, De Mailla's twelve volume translation of *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien kang-mu* 資治通鑑綱目, still one of the most monumental undertakings in the history of Western sinology, and Hans Conon von der Gabelentz's translation of the *Liao shih* 遼史 were both based upon earlier Manchu translations rather than upon the Chinese originals.[9]

It was not long before this enthusiasm for Manchu led to extremes. In a publication dated 1770, Father Amiot somewhat naively claimed that "The knowledge of this language (i.e., Manchu) would open a free admission into Chinese literature of all ages. There is no good Chinese book which has not been translated into Manchu."[10] One wonders whether Amiot thought the corpus of "good" Chinese literature much smaller than it actually is or the number of Manchu translations much larger. And then there is the ludicrous pro-Manchu effusion of H.E.M. James:

> The successive emperors of the Manchu dynasty have taken care to have every Chinese book of value translated into Manchu, and valuable dictionaries and other elementary works have been compiled in Manchu and Chinese. Yet, so wonderful are the ways of men, the Court and people alike are now abandoning Manchu for the cumbrous and barbarous Chinese. If they had imposed their language rather than their pigtails on their conquered foes, how much better it would have been.[11]

As we would expect, such enthusiasm stirred opposition. A short article by the noted Manchu scholar Julius Heinrich Klaproth was devoted to a refutation of the excessive claims of Amiot and his disciple Louis Langles. He noted, contra-Amiot, that many important Chinese texts had never been translated into Manchu. While Klaproth was correct in this assertion, he listed several examples such as *Li chi* 禮記 and *Tao-te ching* 道德經 which actually do exist in Manchu translations.[12] Klaproth went on to argue that even in the case of works with Manchu translations, the latter are "ordinarily made in such a servile manner that their authors have carefully chosen, when there is a vague expression in the original another of the same type in Manchu."[13] Finally, he attempted to show the difficulty of understanding a Manchu translation without reference to the Chinese original, for "as to the construction and the formation of phrases the Chinese is on many accounts unquestionably clearer than the Manchu."[14]

Klaproth's final argument was repeated by the noted French orientalist, Jean Pierre Abel Rémusat. Attacking the study of Chinese literature solely by means of Manchu translations, he noted that "Without the Chinese, it is absolutely impossible to comprehend them."[15] His *Recherches sur les langues tartares* includes an attack upon the literary beauty of the translations with the Manchu *Meng tzu* 孟子 serving as his primary example.[16] The very fact that such an argument needed to be advanced at all indicates how far the pendulum had swung in the direction of Manchu language study. It should go without saying that one can only appreciate the literary beauty of the Chinese *Meng tzu* if one has read it in Chinese.

However, Rémusat was not entirely one-sided in his evaluation of Manchu translations. He cited three benefits they could provide to a student of Chinese texts: first, they rendered the sense of the Chinese very literally; second, they helped resolve the difficult problems of distinguishing substantives from verbs and of recognizing proper nouns; and third, they provided a reliable basis for the correct punctuation of the Chinese text.[17]

The controversy regarding the usefulness of Manchu continued throughout the 19th Century, with very few arguments being added to earlier evaluations. Disputants either emphasized the "limited" number of Manchu texts and their "servile" style of translation or advocated the study of Manchu as a key to understanding the Confucian classics and resolving the "ambiguities" of Chinese grammar. The Manchu translation of the *Ssu shu* 四書 was deemed to be of such importance that the great German Manchuriologist Hans Conon von der Gabelentz produced a roman transcription of the entire and appended an extremely useful Manchu-German dictionary.[18] Paul Georg von Möllendorf, another supporter of Manchu, noted that Manchu is "infinitely easier to learn than Chinese, these translations are a great help towards obtaining a clear insight into Chinese syntax."[19] Georg von der Gabelentz, whose *Chinesische Grammatik*, in my opinion, has never been exceeded as a clear, comprehensive Western language grammar of classical Chinese,[20] wrote in the same vein, "Most of these translations can be considered as accurate, many as masterful. Above all, they opened the way of sinological investigation for us Europeans. Even today no one who studies Chinese should neglect the learning of Manchu."[21] And I. Zakharov', whose 1875 Manchu-Russian Dictionary and 1879 Manchu grammar were major contributions to Manchu studies, added, "They translated the Chinese classics so clearly and accurately that they rendered unnecessary those many-tomed commentaries, with which, in China, learner and teacher spend nearly all their lives... All this work was done so clearly and correctly that we can and must advise him who would know well the Chinese language and literature to learn Chinese books with the Manchu translations."[22]

We should note parenthetically that this last statement from Zakharov' repeats the official Manchu position as found in the prefaces to certain imperial editions of Manchu translations. For example, in the imperial preface to the 1768 edition of the Manchu translation of the *Shih ching* 詩經 we read the following:

> The ancient study of explanation and commentary particularly wished to make clear the meaning of the classics, but, on the contrary, they have been brought to obscurity... If it is a Manchu language translation, the words still (follow) the original words, and the meaning still (follows) the original meaning.[23]

Thus, in the official view, the Manchu translations expounded the true meaning of the classics with greater clarity than the Chinese commentaries. One wonders if the excessive claims of Western sinologists about Manchu translations generally reflected Manchu court propaganda.

Manchu detractors were not without their influential advocates. James Legge, perhaps the most eminent 19th Century Western translator of Chinese, was criticized by Stanislas. Julien for failing to use Manchu as an aid in his English translation of *Shu ching* 書經. Legge responded to this criticism as follows, "In the first place, the Manchoos are as dependent as ourselves on the Chinese interpreters. In the second place, the official sense is now very different from what it was before the Sung era."[24] Legge himself did not know Manchu, a fact which enabled Mollendorf to respond to Legge's statement rather sourly, "The reasons advanced by this great scholar are not very cogent, and, in fact, not knowing the language, he was hardly competent to judge."[25] Several years later, E. von Zach extended Mollendorf's evaluation of Legge to other critics of Manchu studies.

> The study of Manchu, which in connection with Chinese has been always fostered at the universities of the Continent, has been in the last few years energetically attacked by certain sinologues and declared to be merely a loss of time. That these scholars either were themselves unacquainted with Manchu or had failed to obtain a decent knowledge of it is as little necessary to mention as it is that their attacks are unjust.[26]

With von Zach's diatribe against the critics of Manchu studies, the entire issue seems to have left the realm of scholastic discussion and fallen, as do many such discussions, into the area of ad hominem recrimination. This trend was reversed by Berthold Laufer's evaluation of Manchu translations in his ground-breaking work *Skizze der Manjurischen Literatur*.[27] Some feel that Laufer was the most knowledgeable expert on Far Eastern languages and texts that we have yet seen in the West. Whether or not such an accolade is deserved, there is no question but that his contributions to both Chinese studies and Manchu studies are of high quality. Knowing both sides of the issue so well, Laufer was uniquely equipped to evaluate the usefulness of Sino-Manchu translations.

Laufer began his discussion by acknowledging that the missionaries of the 18th Century had gone too far in believing that Chinese literature could be studied exclusively through Manchu; for, "it was never the function of Manchu translations to push aside or make superfluous the Chinese products; their goal was exclusively to facilitate the understanding of the original for the Manchu. This holds true above all for the interpretations of classical literature."[28] Laufer's statement speaks as directly to Klaproth's and Rémusat's criticisms of Manchu translations as it does to Amiot's exaggerations. In view of the function this literature was intended to serve, it is unfair to criticize the translation style as "servile": "... these translations are entirely literal paraphrases of the originals, and one need not get excited over the slavish translation technique that lay in the nature of the established task..."[29] While Laufer might have gone too far in discussing all Sino-Manchu translations as if they were motivated by a single function and possessed a uniform style of translation, he is in the main quite correct.

Granted that Manchu translations are highly literal, do they have merit? Laufer's judgment was an unequivocable "yes." He reminds us that it is a principle of sound philological criticism to use every relevant source possible: "If a Chinese work, to which a Manchu translation is extant, is to be treated, then it is an unavoidable task of the philological method to study the Manchu translation."[30] In Läufer's estimation the Manchu text occupies a particularly valuable place because, "one naturally should not imagine that we already could do better than the Manchu, and that a European, even if he had dwelled decades long in China, would have pushed deeper into the Chinese spirit than the Manchu..."[31]

Despite Laufer's ringing endorsement of Manchu studies, his opinion has not found general favor among Western sinologists. While the tradition of Sino-Manchu studies has been kept alive during the 20th Century by such German scholars as Walter Fuchs, Erich Hauer, Erich Haenisch, Martin Gimm and others, outside of Germany there are relatively few sinologists who have studied the Manchu language. The most direct defense of Manchu studies during the 20th Century is found in an article by Erich Hauer entitled, "Why the Sinologue Should Manchu."[32] Much of the article simply restates the arguments advanced earlier by Laufer. For example, Hauer echoes Laufer with his judgment that "the best scholars of the time, both Chinese and Manchus, have been employed by the emperors to compose these standard translations, and there is no doubt that these China-born and China-educated men possessed a deeper knowledge of the two languages than any Western scholar can ever hope to acquire."[33] In addition to discussing once again the value of Manchu in the analysis of Chinese grammar, Hauer mentions two benefits of Manchu studies which, to my knowledge, had not been specifically advanced before: (1) "Even a limited knowledge of the language will guarantee the correct rendering of Manchu words occuring in Chinese texts"—this value mainly of benefit to specialists in Ch'ing history; and (2) "The Manchu versions of names often reveal the true meaning of the names given, e.g., to palaces, gates, temples, reigns of emperors and so on."[34] Hauer gives several examples of this second merit, noting, for instance, that according to the Manchu translation, Chinese T'ien-anmen 天安門 should be understood not as "Gate of Heavenly Tranquility" but as "Gate of Heaven's Peace-making" (*abkai elhe obure duka*).[35]

Erich Haenisch was perhaps the most ardent advocate of Sino-Manchu translations in this century. His grammatical studies of classical Chinese rely very heavily upon Manchu readings,[36] and he consistently encouraged students of classical Chinese simultaneously to study Manchu. After years of investigating Chinese classics Haenisch reached the conclusion that "the last word would still not be spoken (on Chinese texts) as long as the commentaries of the Manchu time and the Manchu translations had not gained the appropriate regard."[37]

Since the time of Hauer and Haenisch little has been said in print advocating Manchu language study until the recent publication of texts held in the National Palace Museum. However, certain Manchu translations have become much more accessible through such roman transcriptions as *Ch'un-ch'iu san-chuan* 春秋三傳 by Wolfgang Bauer and *Ku-wen yuan-chien* 古文淵鑑 by Martin Gimm[39] as well as through the Taiwan reprints of the Manchu translations of *Liao-chai chih-i* 聊齋誌異 and *Chin p'ing mei* 金瓶梅 published in 1975 under the direction of Dr. Robert Irick.[40]

I would like to conclude this brief sketch of the controversy about the utility of Sino-Manchu translations with three observations. First, despite the length and intensity of the controversy, there have been surprisingly few direct studies of particular Manchu translations. Rémusat briefly evaluated two major Manchu translations of the Confucian *Ssu shu*,[41] Charles de Harlez proclaimed that the Manchu *I ching* 易經 for the most part verified his own interpretations of the text—interpretations he supposedly reached before acquiring the Manchu text,[42] and Haenisch has shown how the Manchu translation of two passages from *Lun yu* 論語 clarifies their meaning.[43] To my knowledge the most comprehensive discussion of the Manchu translation of a particular Chinese text is Julius Grill's article on the Manchu *Tao-te ching* 道德經,[44] a text which had been published in transcription by von Zach approximately a decade earlier.[45]

The major focus of Manchu studies should now be historical documents and the linguistic role of Manchu among the Tungus and Altaic languages,[46] but there is still room for the investigation of particular Manchu translations and a systematic exposition of the interpretations and techniques of the translators. Hopefully the emotions stirred by earlier disputes have now settle enough to permit such an investigation to proceed dispassionately.

Second, I would not want to give the impression that I am following the excesses of the past by suggesting that Sino-Manchu translations be put at the center of the larger sinological effort. Herbert Franke is correct when he notes that modern sinology has gone far beyond those relatively few Chinese texts which have Manchu translations.[47] Our major breakthroughs in the understanding even of those classical Chinese texts which do have such translations most often will come from either careful philological work within Chinese texts themselves or from the gradual revelation of the physical world of the Chinese past which archaeology can provide. But it will be worthwhile for some scholars to continue the long tradition of studying, explaining and contributing Manchu interpretations to the sinological pursuit.

Moreover, we should not delude ourselves; although modern Western scholarship on the Chinese classics does not utilize Manchu, our method of study and translation has not radically changed. Now Japanese rather than Manchu is the *Hilfssprache* which most sinologists use to pry open the classical Chinese text. Certainly many Japanese translations are masterpieces of philological skill, but those who have used them know how often a particularly troublesome compound or phrase is retained in *Kanji*, giving no clue to the translator's interpretation. Such a luxury was not available to the Manchus, especially during the second great wave of Sino-Manchu translations when the Ch'ien-lung Emperor had insisted on replacing the older transliterations with translations.

And finally, the Manchu archival material which is being considered here is of the utmost relevance to the evaluation of Sino-Manchu translations. Much has been said in the past about the style of the Manchu language which appears in the translations. Often it has been seen as a somewhat stilted and unnatural language which is very much captive to norms of classical Chinese style. The wide the variety of Manchu material which comes to light, particularly material originally drafted in Manchu, the better our position to evaluate the language of any particular Manchu text.

Notes

1. Review of *K'ang-hsi and the Consolidation of Ch'ing Rule* by Lawrence D. Kessler, *HJAS*, Vol. 37.2 (December, 1977), 445.

2. *Sinologie am deutschen Universitäten* (Wiesbande: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1968), 52.

3. *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete*, ed. by J.S. Cummins, Vol. II (Cambridge: University Press, 1962), 10, 168–9.

4. On this pejorative term see Walter Heissig, *A Lost Civilization: The Mongols Rediscovered* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966).

5. From an unpublished paper by Joseph S. Sebes, S.J., "A Description of the Tartars (Manchus) by the Jesuit Gabriel de Magalhaes in 1647 When He First Encountered Them at the Time of Their Conquest of China," AOS, Cornell, 1977.

6. Father Amiot, *Éloge de la ville de Moukden et de ses environs* (Paris, 1770), preface, VI.

7. Jonathan D. Spence, *Emperor of China: Self-Portrait of K'ang-hsi* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 72.

8. See Berthold Laufer, "Skizze der Manjurischen Literatur," *Keleti Szemle* IX (1908), 11.

9. Ssu-ma Kuang, *Histoire générale de la Chine, ou Annales de cet Empire*, trans. by Joseph Anne Marie Moyriac de Mailla (1777–1785; reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, 1969). In his preface de Mailla wrote that it was a knowledge of Manchu, "Which is not subject to ambiguity like Chinese," that gave him confidence to translate this work (p. XLVII). Also Hans Conon yon der Gabelentz, *Geschichte der grossen Liao aus dem Mandschu Übersetzt* (St. Petersburg, 1877).

10. Op. cit.

11. *The Long White Mountain* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1888), 131–2.

12. Julius Heinrich Klaproth, "Sur l'utilite de l'étude de langue mandchoue," *Memoires relatifs a l'Asie* (Paris, 1824/8), 1–9. The *Li chi* was translated into Manchu in 1784, and the *Tao-te ching* as early as 1656.

13. Ibid., 5.

14. Ibid., 7.

15. *Recherches sur les langues tartares*, vol. I. (Paris, 1820), 124. For further criticism of Manchu translations see his "Notice sur les quatre Livres moraux attribus communemént à Confucius," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque du roi*, vol. X (1818), 269–426.

16. Ibid., 122–3.

17. Ibid., 123.

18. *Sse-schu, Schu-king, Schi-king in Mandschuischer Übersetzung* (Leipzig, 1864).

19. *A Manchu Grammar with Analyzed Texts* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1892), "Introduction."

20. (1881; reprint, Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1960). There are more than fifty references to Manchu interpretations in Gabelentz's grammar. While most of them are cited to support his own interpretations, sometimes in opposition to Legge (e.g., p. 231), others illustrate grammatical principles (see pp. 212, 213, 276, 278, 480, etc.).

21. Ibid., 18.

22. M.F.A. Fraser, "History of the Manchu Language from the Preface to Professor I. Zacharoff's Manchu-Russian Dictionary," *The Chinese Recorder* XXII (1891), 153. Another Russian scholar who spoke very positively of Manchu translations was A.V. Grebenshchikov, "Man'chzhury ikh iazyk i pis'-mennost'," *Izviestiia Vostochnago Instituta*, Vol. XLV, pt. 1 (1912).

23. The Manchu text from which I have translated reads as follows: "julgei sume giyangnara tacin. cohome nomun i jurgan be getukeleki sehei. elemengga getukcn akū de isibuhabi... aikabade manju gisun i ubaliyam-buhangge oci. gisun ineku da gisun. jurgan ineku da jurgan..." *Shih ching man-han ho-pi* 詩經滿漢合璧 (1768), preface, 4a & 5b.

24. *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. 3 (1893; reprint, Hong Kong University Press, 1961), vii.

25. Op. cit.

26. "Manchurian Translation of Lao-tzu's *Tao-te-ching*—Romanized Text," The China Review XXV (1900/01), 157.

27. Op. cit.. 1–53.

28. Ibid., 11.

29. Ibid., 12.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. *JNCBRAS* 61 (1930), 156–164.

33. Ibid., 157.

34. Ibid., 162.

35. Ibid.

36. See, for example, "Grammatische Bemerkungen zur chinesischen Literatur-sprache," *AM*, V (1928), pp. 225–38, IX (1933), pp. 169–82.

37. "Untersuchungen uber zwei Spruche des Konfuzius," AM II (1925), p. 379.

38. *Tsch-un-Ts'iu mit den drei Kommentaren Tso-tschuan, Kung-yang tschuan und Ku-liang-tschuan in mandschuischer Übersetzung, AKM* XXXIII/1 (1959).

39. *Die kaiserliche Ku-wen-Anthologie von 1685/6. Ku-wen Yuan-chien in mandjurischer Übersetzung, I. Kap. 1–24 (Chou bis Chin Dynastie)* (Wiesbaden, 1969).

40. (San Francisco; Chinese Materials Center, Inc., 1975).

41. "Notice sur les quatre Livres."

42. "Le Yi-king et sa traduction en Mandchou," *JA* VIII (1896), pp. 177–178.

43. Op. cit., 379–407.

44. "Zur mandschurischen Ubersetzung des *Tao-te-king*," *ZDMG*, LXV (1911), pp. 759–770.

45. Op. cit., 157–162, 228–235.

46. In his "Introduction aux études mandjoues," Professor Denis Sinor has observed that the study of the Manchu language for its own sake, with the linguistic and philological insights that such study should generate, is still in its youth. *TP*, vol. 42 (1953), p. 78.

47. Op. cit.

■ Source: Ning, Chia, 'Manchu language resources in the People's Republic of China: A comprehensive review [review essay on sixteen publications dating from 1983 to 2006]', in *China Review International*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (2009), University of Hawaii Press, pp. 308–322.

MANCHU LANGUAGE RESOURCES IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA: A COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW

Chia Ning

Aisin Gioro Ulhicun. *Manyu yufa* (The Manchu grammar). Huhhot: Neimenggu renmin chubanshe, 1983. 爱新觉罗乌拉熙春,《满语法》呼和浩特: 内蒙古人民出版社, 1983). Preface by Sun Yingnian. 538 pp. Paperback 1.8 RMB, no ISBN.

Aisin Gioro Ulhicun. *Manyu Duben* (The Manchu reading texts). Huhhot: Neimenggu renmin chubanshe, 1985 (爱新觉罗乌拉熙春, 《满语读本》. 呼和浩特: 内蒙古人民出版社, 1985). 294 pp. Paperback 1.5 RMB, no ISBN.

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Joseph Fletcher's 1981 remarks on the Manchu language led to a new scholarly stage in the Qing studies: "A Qing scholar who wants to do first-class work in the archives must, from now on, learn Manchu and routinely compare the Manchu and Chinese sources for their topics of research."[1] Along with the U.S. development in this direction,[2] academics in the Peoples Republic of China (PRC) in the field of Manchu language have also promoted the same value to this seriously endangered language. During the past twenty to thirty years, their accomplishments have upgraded the study of the Manchu language along two tracks: the historical Manchu in close association with the Qing studies and the contemporary spoken Manchu for linguistic research. Their achievements can, if used suitably, help enrich U.S. Qing studies and Manchu studies by assisting or advancing Manchu language teaching, learning, and research, especially to those who attempt to employ Manchu and Chinese to develop scholarship. Sixteen representative publications have been selected for this review, dating from 1983 to 2006.

The Manchu Family-Educated Scholars and Their Accomplishments

Recovering from the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), during which time the Manchu language had no practical application in any form, the first two Manchu textbooks *Manyu yufa* (《满语语法》, The Manchu grammar) and *Manyu duben* (《满语读本》, The Manchu reading texts) were published in 1983 and 1985 by Aisin Gioro Ulhicun. The author was an eighth-generation descendent of Yongqi (水琪), who was the fifth son of the Manchu emperor Qianlong (r. 1736–1795) and was granted the rank of Prince Rong: Carrying the strong literate tradition of this line of the imperial family, Ulhicun gained knowledge of Manchu mainly from her father Jin Qizong—a formerly prominent PRC scholar in Jurchen and Manchu studies.

The first two chapters of *Manyu yufa* trace the origin of the Manchu language and distinguish Manchu from Jurchen, Mongolian, and other non-Chinese languages while describing the final formation of the Manchu language. The remaining two chapters in this part introduce Manchu phonetics. The second part of the book has seven chapters in Manchu grammar, focusing on linguistic morphology. The seven chapters in the third part focus on sentence structure and syntax. Most sample sentences are selected from the Qing archives, official documents, and literature masterpieces. All Manchu scripts are followed by the alphabetic romanization and Chinese translation, convenient to beginners who rely on the romanization tool to pronounce Manchu scripts and on Chinese to understand Manchu. *Manyu duben*, according to the author, further assists learners to exercise Manchu readings and oral dialogues. Each of the twenty lessons is structured orderly, first with an essay, then a grammar explanation, and finally the topic introduction of the Manchu language and culture. Unlike the grammar volume *Manyu yufa*, this reading volume provides more modern essays than historical archives and documents. Both textbooks aim to guide self-learners to study this—in the early 1980s—almost unknown language. Learning Manchu at this time was based on personal interest or ethnically motivated hobbies rather than academic training.

Aisin Gioro Yingsheng (爱新觉罗赢生), another descendant from the Manchu imperial family, published a series of Manchu textbooks, cultural studies, and research articles beginning in the mid-1980s. Best representing his profound knowledge in Manchu language and culture, *Manyu zashi* (《满语杂识》, The comprehensive knowledge of Manchu language) was published in 2004, bringing a masterpiece to the Manchu field. The author is a descendent of the thirteenth generation from the Manchu founding father Nurhaci. Born into such a family in 1922 (in Japan), he received an education in the Manchu language and culture, which was probably more authentic than anyone else in the twentieth century. As a child, he received his first three years of instruction in Manchu from his uncle Asin Gioro Puhou (爱新觉罗朴厚), who was one of the Six Manchu Eminences of the Tongzhi-Guangxu period (同光清语六贤, *tongguang qingyu liuxian*). In the following sixteen years, Akdunbumen, another eminence of the Six, was his Manchu teacher. Devoting himself to Manchu studies and to the public education of Manchu language in the early post-Mao years, he published three textbooks while writing *Manyu zashi*. These are *Manyu jichu jiangyi* (《满语基础讲义》, 1985), *Manyu duben* (《满语读本》, 1986), and *Sucheng zixue manyu jichu jiangyi* (《速成自学满语基础讲义》, 1988 and reprint 2006).[3]

Manyu zashi is a huge volume with 1070 pages and four well-organized sections. The first section (pp. 3–220) teaches Manchu words, pronunciation, and grammar. The author chose not to use the twelve word initials (十二予头), which were the standard word entries in all of the Qing Manchu language books.[4] Instead, he used the modern Western alphabetic romanization to order the Manchu word entries. He also tried to apply

the twentieth-century linguistic theories to the discussion of Manchu grammar. The second section has fifteen chapters (pp. 221–584) on spoken Manchu. The study of the Aisin Gioro dialect and the dialects in other Manchu social circles significantly fill the vacancy in the world study of spoken Manchu during the Qing dynasty. Chapter 2, on the comparison of spoken and written Manchu, is worthy of special attention. The third section (pp. 585–852) discusses the Manchu influence on the Chinese language. It examines the historical changes in Chinese through various dynasties that resulted from the consistent input from the northern, non-Chinese ethnic peoples. Based on such a background, the final formation of the Mandarin dialect centered in Beijing. A special dialect used in Shenyang during the Qing is discussed thoroughly. The fourth section (pp. 853–1009) presents Manchu cultural studies in close association with the Manchu language, including Manchu ritual songs, Manchu language teaching in the Qing dynasty, Manchu family names, Manchu language in the Shaman belief, and so on. The lengthy appendix of sixty pages, "The Vocabulary List in the Manchu and Han Chinese Languages" (pp. 1010–1070), concludes the book. The author differentiates his unique study of the Qing manyu (满语, the spoken Manchu) from the study of the Qing manwen (满文, the written Manchu). The latter focuses on the Qing written documents in which most of the current PRC Manchu specialists in association with Qing studies have specialized and conducted their research. Viewing the Qing manyu as an almost lost oral language and Qing manwen as a written form that can still be passed on, the author hopes that Manchu academics recognize the important differences and urgently find methods to save the former.[5]

Nearly a hundred years after the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911, these direct descendants of the Aisin Gioro family have, in the language area, persistently represented their ancestors, who created and applied that newborn but officially crucial language while developing and upholding the last imperial dynasty in Chinese history. The contribution of these descendants to the present study of the Manchu language is invaluable, especially the original sense of that language.

Accomplishments by Scholars in Public Higher Education and Research Institutions

Many authors of the works under this review are developed by the nineteen Manchu specialists who received the Manchu language degree from the Central Institute for Nationalities (中央民族字院, *zhongyang minzu* *xueyuan*) or the 1980s-renamed Central University for Nationalities (中央民族大学, *zhongyang minzu daxue*) in Beijing. Their language training required five years, rather than the regular four years, the college-level education. Recruiting these Manchu language majors into the first PRC Manchu language class at the college level was the instruction of Premier Zhou Enlai. Zhou attempted to restore that endangered language in order to have specialists decoding the by then untouched Manchu archives inside the Forbidden City. The five years—rather than the commonly required four years—of study for a college degree consigned high status to this first PRC generation of Manchu college graduates in the Qing archive/document-focused Manchu education.

Nearly at the same time these Manchu language majors would complete their degree, however, the lost ten years—the Cultural Revolution—directed them into various occupations unrelated to Manchu. Zhou Enlai's second instruction on restoring the Manchu language came in 1975, and these Manchu graduates finally returned to their designated profession. During the post-Mao years, they actively engaged in the development of Manchu scholarship and the education in Manchu of younger generations. Their contributions include

1. historical and linguistic research
2. translations of the Manchu archives and historical documents
3. publication of Manchu textbooks, dictionaries, academic journals, and journal articles
4. teaching Manchu language to students at higher educational institutions and in the intensive training programs for archival and library professionals
5. promoting the public education in Manchu for those who wanted to learn the language as an interest rather than for career.

The following publications, in chronological order under each subtitle, introduce the extraordinary accomplishments from these dedicated scholars and their students in Qing written Manchu and contemporary spoken Manchu.

Qing Written Manchu

Ji Yonghai, Liu Jingxian, and Qu Liusheng's *Manyu yufa* (《满语语法》, The Manchu grammar, 1989) was the first Manchu textbook printed by lead typography, according to the preface written by De Lin. The previous Manchu textbooks, as well as a few published later, were still printed in hand-typed Manchu script or revised Mongol script. The outcome of research conducted by three first-generation Manchu graduates, this volume is one of the key Manchu textbooks with particular strength in Manchu-to-Chinese translations of the Qing archives and documents. The book also helps learners and researchers familiarize themselves with both contemporary Manchu as well as the historical Jurchen language. Following the development of the Manchu language, the book compares the *old* Manchu—without dots and circles—to the *new* Manchu—with dots and circles, covering the Nurhaci (r. 1616–1626) and Hong Taiji (r. 1626–1643) periods. It then traces changes in the language through the stages of the Qing dynasty by following the important Qing Manchu reference books, which were published mainly during Qianlong's time. With the exception of word pronunciations at the beginning and the vocabulary list at the end, no romanization tool is used to guide the pronunciation of Manchu scripts—a specific training method that the first PRC Manchu scholars preferred in their teaching. From pages 93 to 395, the Manchu grammar is systematically explained in Chinese. The three appendixes at end of the book are valuable: "The Manchu Punctuation" (pp. 398–400), "The Selected Manchu Archive/Document Samples" with Chinese translation (pp. 401–450), and "The Basic Manchu Vocabularies" (pp. 451–527).

Another key Manchu textbook is the project of the Number One Historical Archives of China, *Manwen jiaocai* (中国第一历史档案馆编, 《满文教材》, The Manchu teaching materials, 1991). This volume has as its entire text the handwriting for both Manchu and Chinese. The ten-page preface is written in both languages as well. As stated in the introduction, this textbook was based on research and teaching outcomes of the Manchu scholars—all 1996 graduates of the Number One Archives in Beijing. Applying modern linguistic theories, particularly in the grammar analysis, to the Qing Manchu textbooks, such as *Shi'er zitou* (《十二字头》), *Qingwen qimeng* (《清文启蒙》), *Qingwen xuzi zhinanbian* (《清文虚字指南編》), and *Manmenghan sanhe jiaokeshu* (《满蒙汉三和教科书》), the authors of this textbook are critical of the European Manchu textbooks for oversimplifying the Manchu grammar and using Indo-European grammar to explain Manchu grammar. Compilation of this textbook started as early as in 1975, immediately following Premier Zhou's instruction to restore Manchu study. The first use of this textbook was to teach the second PRC generation of Manchu specialists—a newly recruited Manchu language class with a three-year training program at the Number One Historical Archive. The twenty-one selected students in this class (one dropped out later) were expected to be familiar with the Qing style of Manchu official writing and to work on the Manchu-to-Chinese translation at the Number One Archives as well as at key libraries in Beijing with Manchu collections. Textbook writing developed as the teaching of this class moved forward. When the book was eventually ready for publication in 1991 (the preface was dated 1988), the project was already a joint effort of the first and the second generations of Manchu specialists. Qu Liusheng from the first generation served as chief editor, and Yang Zhen from the second generation was one of the three assistant editors. The readership of this textbook in Manchu language training was also expanded from researchers and archival managers in Beijing to those at the provincial Manchu collections, including Dongbei (the northeastern provinces), Inner Mongolia, and Xinjiang. The textbook has thirty-eight lessons. A considerable number of texts were selected from the Qing historical materials and literature essays—each had the Chinese translation sentence by sentence. Every lesson has attachments in Chinese on the topic-related introduction, grammar explanation, and Manchu language exercises (with answers given at end of the book). In the style of training from the first PRC generation of the Manchu specialists, again the textbook has no alphabetic romanization for the Manchu scripts. The textbook is useful for improving one's reading ability in Qing historical Manchu and Manchu-to-Chinese translation, if the user is proficient in the Chinese language.

Manwen jiangyi (《满文讲义》, The Manchu language textbook, 1994) was the textbook for the Beijing Manchu Academy (北京满文书院), which was a non-profit cultural institute in Beijing from 1984 to 2000. It is a collection of instructors' teaching materials that was edited into a printed volume in 1994, no publication year or author is given in this book. Presumably, however, An Shuangcheng, the Manchu scholar at the Number One Historical Archives who served as a teacher at the academy, took the lead in this textbook project.[6] Among the thirty-eight lessons, many are accompanied by a topic introduction of Manchu history or culture that is associated with the lesson subject. Each lesson has a section of language exercises. The twelve Manchu word initials are taught in three lessons, and the entire book does not use romanization for Manchu scripts. Even though historical and contemporary Manchu are both selected for the sample sentences and writing texts, the book gives heavier weight to the archival/or documentary Manchu along with short essays, literature pieces, and poems. It has remained an effective textbook for beginners and even for those at the intermediate level.

Zhao Aping, Liu Jingxian, and Zhao Jinchun's *Manyuyanjiu tonglun* (《满语研究通论》, A comprehensive study of the Manchu language, 1997) is a joint achievement of the first-generation Manchu specialist Liu Jingxian and his two students who are northeastern natives. Consistent with the training for the first generation of Manchu specialists, this textbook gives the twelve word initials a special introduction. Only chapter 1 has the phonetic symbols to guide the pronunciation of Manchu scripts, but not so from chapter 2 to end of the book for 436 pages. In the grammar chapters, the Manchu scripts in each sentence are marked by Chinese characters word-by-word, which match the meaning of each Manchu term. Following this pattern, the word order is, of course, not consistent with Chinese grammar. However, the Manchu sentence is immediately accompanied by a standard Chinese translation. The grammar differences between the two languages are thus demonstrated in a perceptible comparison. Other high points of the volume are found at the end—a chapter on Manchu punctuation and an appendix with a lengthy reference list of historical Manchu literature and recent linguistic Manchu studies.

Guan Jialu and Tong Yonggong's *Jianming manwen wenfa* (关箭冬, 俾永功. 《简明满文文法》, The brief textbook of Manchu grammar, 2002) is a short and proficient textbook, simple and competent. It aims, as stated by the authors in their preface, at assisting a learner's intensive study of the Manchu language (p. 4). The sample Manchu sentences are collected from a variety of Qing textbooks, archives, literature masterpieces, and modern expressions in current textbooks. All sentences are translated into and explained in Chinese. With Chinese proficiency, beginning students of the Manchu language will find this textbook effective in advancing their learning forward. After the first three parts about Manchu phonetics and grammar, the fourth part, titled "Document examples," provides various official styles of the Manchu writing. Each is accompanied by a Chinese translation. These styles include the memorial (奏折, *zouzhe*), the official report to the emperor (题本, *tiben*), edict (敕书, *chishu*), imperial decree (上谕, *shangyu*), official document to the lower ranks (扎付, *zhafu*), and an inscription on a tablet (碑文, *beiwen*). A decent scholar in Manchu will also feel capable of using this textbook for reference.

Contemporary Manchu

Ji Yonghai, Zhao Zhizhong, and Bai Liyuan's *Xiandai Manyu babai ju* (《现代满语八百句》, Eight hundred sentences of the contemporary

Manchu,1989) was based on the authors' linguistic research in the 1980s at Sanjiazi, a Manchu-speaking village north of Qiqihar in Heilongjiang. All eight hundred sentences were selected from oral conversations in daily life. They are distributed into fifteen lessons under headings that include greetings, times, seasons, dinning, visiting, family members, relatives, receiving guests, and other topics. Only romanized sentences are given in the chapters. The reader can, however, read the scripts of all these sentences in the lengthy appendix at the end of the book.

Xiandai Manyu yanjiu (《现代满语研究》, Study of the contemporary Manchu language, 1989) is the outcome of Zhao Jie's linguistic research during the fall of 1985 in Daxingcun in Tailai County along the Nen River, another Manchu-speaking village in Heilongjiang. During his research, he found that villagers over fifty years old still kept Manchu in their daily conversation and their Chinese was very limited comparatively. Meanwhile, only a few villagers between the ages of thirty and forty could speak Manchu fluently. The majority in this age group could understand Manchu but could not converse in Manchu. People under twenty could neither speak nor understand Manchu, even though such a village was still, according to the author's research, the best Manchu language reservoir in China. Being a student in linguistic studies with a master's degree taken under the guidance of Ji Yonghai, the author tried, as he stated in the introduction, to apply contemporary linguistic theories to the study of Manchu language in this book. All Manchu sentences are romanized, and no Manchu scripts are given throughout the book.

Guan Jialu's *Manyu yibaiju* or *Manju gisun i emu tanggū gisun* (《满培一白句》, A hundred Manchu sentences, 2004) is a small, pamphlet-sized volume with an impressively designed front cover. It is a collection of the most popular Manchu sentences in daily communication in the Shengyang region of the Liaoning province. Each sentence is written in Manchu script and is followed by its alphabetical romanization, a pronunciation guide with similarly sounded Chinese characters, and the Chinese translation. The eight appendixes are very specific and useful, including "Table of Roman Letters and Manchu Scripts (as a pronunciation guide), "Table of the Qing Emperor's Reign Titles," "Table of the Ten Heavenly Stems and Twelve Earthly Branches," "Table of Palace and Temple Names," "Table of Numbers," "Table of Manchu Family Names in Shengyang Region," "Table of Seasonal Terms," and the highly valuable "Table of the Manchu Language Reference Books" (historical and recent). The book can serve as a valuable reference pamphlet.

Wang Qingfeng's *Manyu yanjiu* (《满话研究》, The study of Manchu language, 2005) was based on the author's four linguistic fieldwork experiences at eight research sites during the 1960s and 1990s. These sites included Manchu speaking communities, both rural and urban, along the Heilongjiang River. The author is among the very few early PRC pioneers of Manchu language study who are not among the first PRC college Manchu graduates. Instead, these few pioneers have based their academic career at the Minority Language Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Resources for this book came from the thirty to forty best Manchu speakers at the author's research sites. The achievements of this volume, according to the author, will become more and more important after these Manchu speakers have died and the younger generations no longer practice Manchu language (pp. 3, 106). The first three parts of the volume introduce Manchu grammar systematically; no Manchu scripts are given. The romanized sentences are accompanied by Chinese explanations and translations. A very short fourth section provides the linguistic introduction of old Manchu and new Manchu, together with the Aihui dialect practiced along the Heilongjiang River. The first appendix, "The Table of Manchu Words," has three columns: the regularly pronounced Manchu, the Manchu in Aihui dialect, and the Chinese translation (pp. 107–204). The second appendix, "Sentences of Spoken Manchu," offers each sentence in Chinese followed by romanized Manchu (pp. 205–270). A total of 534 daily dialogues, twenty idioms, and an antithetical couplet are included in this appendix. The third appendix offers six fairy tales, some from the Chinese tradition and some from Manchu history. In each tale, every romanized Manchu word has a similarly sounded Chinese word next to it. Every sentence is followed by a sentence translated into Chinese. At the end of the Manchu text, a Chinese translation for the whole text is also attached. The fourth appendix records two Heilongjiang local songs in Manchu, and the fifth appendix contains a little known Manchu piece of comic talking and singing. A collection of endangered oral Manchu folk pieces in various forms, this volume has its unique value, even though the reader with expectations of seeing Manchu scripts may not be satisfied in that particular regard.

An Chengshan and Guo Yuan'er's *Xibeyu manyu kouyu jichu* (《锡伯培, 满语口语基础》, Basics of the oral Xibe and Manchu, 2007) is a very recent volume in the study of a living minority language in contemporary China. Having the same ethnic origins, the Manchu people and the Xibe people have no language barrier, according to the authors in their introduction. Thus, the oral communication and the written scripts of the two are exchangeable. Even with a geographical separation (the Manchu in Dongbei and the Xibe in Xinjiang), the differences between the two languages, while they do occur, are still smaller than those between the Beijing dialect and the Tianjin dialect in Mandarin Chinese. This textbook, therefore, serves the learning of both Xibe and Manchu languages at the same time. Since it focuses on oral conversation, the content provides daily dialogue and cultural topics. The first section (lessons 1 to 11) offers pronunciation guidance using the romanization symbols. There is no script demonstration. The second section (lessons 12 to 18) explains the grammar. An exercise section accompanies each lesson, requiring two hours of work for a learner to complete. At the end, the book includes a vocabulary appendix of twelve hundred words. The goal of this book is to assist in the elementary-level learning of Xibe and Manchu languages.

Among the textbooks under discussion, some are focused on the reading of Manchu archives and official documents of the Qing history. Some are linguistic studies of the contemporary Manchu. A few are meant to educate people who will not use the Manchu language as a research tool but learn it to fulfill language inquiries of their own. A number of these books use Western-style romanization to guide the pronunciation of Manchu scripts. Others, to the contrary, try to avoid training learners to read Manchu scripts through romanization. Each preference, consideration, and teaching method contributes to the overall significance of saving the historical and present Manchu in the unfortunate situation that has the Manchu-speaking population shrinking rapidly. The value of these efforts will, therefore, continue to increase as time goes further.

The Comprehensive Manchu Dictionaries

Beyond the textbooks, one needs qualified dictionaries to read Manchu and conduct research. Three advanced dictionaries have been developed in the PRC during the last fifteen years.

Manhan dacidian (《满汉大辞典》, The grand Manchu-Chinese dictionary, 1993) was developed under the lead of two outstanding Manchu scholars: chief editor An Shuangcheng at the Number One Historical Archives and proofreading editor Guang Jialu at the Shengyan Academy of Social Sciences. Both were among the 1966 Manchu language graduates. The dictionary is research-oriented, particular for reading the Qing Manchu archives and official documents. Each Manchu word entry starts from script and is followed by romanization, Chinese description, and sample phrases and sentences. Nearly fifty thousand Manchu word entries cover the political, economic, military, diplomatic, ethnic, and cultural terms. Under these entries, numerous sentence examples have been selected from the Qing archives and governmental documents. Since the word entries follow the order of the Manchu twelve word initials, consistent with all the Qing Manchu language books and dictionaries, a user should become familiar with these initials in order to use the dictionary effectively. The dictionary is challenging for a beginner whose education may not offer, or offer enough, knowledge of the twelve word initials. The beneficial experience from using this dictionary could come from the engagement in Manchu language learning as the Manchu did in the Qing dynasty. The sixteen appendixes in the last part of the dictionary contain many key elements useful for learning the Manchu language as well as historical knowledge of the Qing dynasty. These include the comparison of the old Manchu and the new; the personal names, reigning titles, and posthumous titles of the Qing emperors with their throne years; taboo words in association with emperors' names; the names of the Manchu empresses; the Manchu princes and princesses in association with their biological mothers; the Heavenly Stems and the Earthly Branches; numbers and number-related vocabularies in both Manchu and Chinese; weight and measurement terms; and so on. This dictionary should be essential for academic researchers, especially Qing historians with Chinese language proficiency.

Xinmanhan dacidian (《新满汉大词典》, The new grand Manchu-Chinese dictionary, 1994) was developed by scholars at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences under the chief editorship of Hu Zengyi, a leading scholar among the earliest pioneers of the Manchu language study at the academy's Institute of Northern Minority Languages. Conducting their linguistic research among the Xibe minority nationality in Xinjiang, scholars took about fifteen years, from 1976 to 1992, to complete this dictionary. They received tremendous contributions from the Xibe scholars in Chabuchar, Xinjiang. About fifty Manchu historical works and dictionaries (listed on pp. 7–8) were used as references to compile this dictionary, especially *Han I araha nonggime toktobuha manzhu gisun I buleku bithe* (《御制增订清文鉴》, *Yuzhi zengding qingwenjian*) and *Manzhu gisun I uheri isabuha bithe* (《清文总汇》, *Qingwen zonghui*). The thirty-five thousand Manchu word entries are ordered in Western alphabetic romanization, convenient for those who are not familiar with the twelve Manchu word initials. The Manchu twelve word initials, however, are introduced in an appendix (pp. 894–909). Various word entry alternatives are also given by following the Manchu scripts alphabetically (pp. 9–115), the Chinese terms in *hanyu pinyin* (pp. 918–955) or the Taiwanese pinyin order (p. 910), the simplified and complicated Chinese characters (pp. 911–917), and the English vocabularies alphabetically (pp. 956–1016). Offering a variety of preferences and choices in languages and romanization systems, the dictionary is thus easy to use. The dictionary leans more toward guiding literature reading rather than archival reading. It is, however, still helpful to the archival reading, just as *Manhan dacidian* also helps with Qing literature reading. This dictionary is necessary for readers in Manchu literature studies, both historical and contemporary.

The readers who use both dictionaries need to adjust to differences between the two romanization preferences for the Manchu scripts, in addition to the use (or non use) of the twelve word initials in organizing the general word entry. For example, the "j" in *Manhan dacidian* appears as "zh" in *Xinmanhan dacidian*.

Hanman dacidian (《汉满大辞典》, The Chinese-Manchu dictionary, 2006) is the sister volume to *Manhan dacidian* (with an introduction by Wang Zhonghan, p. 1). It is another outstanding achievement by the scholarly partnership of An Shuangcheng, as the chief editor again, and Guan Jialu, as the associate editor this time—thirteen years after their *Manhan dacidian*. Using Chinese word entries with the tool of *pinyin* to search for Manchu words benefits a large audience of users whose Chinese language proficiency is stronger than their proficiency of Manchu. No matter at what language level an individual is reading, the help from the Chinese language opens a new opportunity to learn corresponding Manchu terms effectively. This huge volume, nearly fifteen thousand pages, includes the vocabularies in use both during and after the Qing dynasty and, therefore, enlarges the possibility of learners understanding the Manchu term even at the beginning stage of their Manchu education. More than sixty thousand word entries also make this dictionary unique in word coverage among the existing Chinese-to-Manchu reference books since the Qing dynasty. This book is an excellent reference resource for students whose first foreign language is Chinese and the second is Manchu.

Together, these three dictionaries can serve almost all the needs of Manchu language learners, readers, and researchers who have a variety of reference demands. Along with the existing textbooks, these dictionaries carry tremendous weight for the restoration of the Manchu language.

Conclusion

In the PRC's development of Manchu language studies in recent decades, the accomplishments of the Qing imperial family members have demonstrated a delightful, if not surprising, bond with the early Manchu tradition nearly a century after the end of the Qing dynasty. Scholars from public education and research institutions have contributed a worthy body of scholarship. The selected sixteen works under this review introduce the general state of the field. However, there are many more resources belonging to this body of scholarship in the form of academic books, book chapters, journals, journal articles, and so on. Compared to 1981, when Joseph Fletcher made his remarks, there are today many more and much richer resources from the PRC to assist a U.S. scholar working with the Fletcher standard in Manchu language and Qing history.

To evaluate further Manchu language studies as a field in the PRC, the first generation of Manchu scholars have now reached their retirement but are still active in their professional field. Those in the second and later generations are the major forces in Manchu studies or Manchu language-related studies. The Manchu language degree is offered at a small number of higher educational and research institutions. All these aspects show a situation advanced beyond previous stages in twentieth-century China.

By no means, however, are the challenges facing the further development of Manchu language studies and especially archive-based Qing research in PRC less competitive than they were in the previous stages. The recruitment and number of students who will devote themselves to Manchu language studies will decisively influence the field years from now in terms of producing qualified history and linguistic researchers as well as Manchu language teachers. Unfortunately, the current situation at the highest research and teaching levels is not promising. Furthermore, the rapid decline of the already shrinking Manchu-speaking population has greatly and negatively influenced the number of decent research sites. The current Manchu language researchers will have to witness the final disappearance of living Manchu. In this challenging reality, all existing research outcomes are, by any account, crucial to link the past Qing dynasty, when the Manchu language thrived for two hundred years, and future Manchu studies, when the learning of the Manchu language will almost completely rely on written rather than human resources.

We face a challenge similar to that which the Chinese academic world is facing. Placing the state of the PRC Manchu field into the North American scholarly world, the wise and thorough use of academic resources from the global community can better strengthen our academic goals to meet the Fletcher standard in Qing studies. It will also help to expand the Fletcher approach beyond Qing studies as well.

Notes

For this comprehensive review, the author sincerely thanks the following Chinese scholars. Guan Jialu provided the primary information on the first generation of the PRC Manchu language scholars and guided Chia Ning's intensive Manchu language training in the summer of 2005. Yang Zhen at the Institute of the Qing Studies, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, provided the primary information on the second generation of the PRC Manchu Language scholars and helped connect Chia Ning to the three interview informants while preparing for writing this review in summer of 2008. Aisin Gioro Yingsheng gave time to Chia Ning's interview on July 29, 2008, and again in summer of 2010, providing rich information on the Manchu language studies. Jin Baosen, principal of the Beijing Academy of Manchu Language, gave special permission to enroll Chia Ning at the academy from late 1994 to early 1995 and accepted her interview in the summer of 2008. An Shuangcheng taught Chia Ning in his Manchu class in fall of 1994 and provided the information on the development of the Manchu language studies and again in summer of 2008. Qu Liusheng taught Chia Ning in his advanced Manchu class in spring of 1995 and directed her training in the archival translation from Manchu to Chinese. Yin Fang, a Manchu language student of Aisin Gioro Yingsheng, assisted Chia Ning's interviews in the summer of 2008 and 2010, and offered significant information about his teacher. Aisin Gioro Ulhicun generously provided her textbooks and Manchu-related publications.

1. Joseph Fletcher, review of *Manchu Books in London* by W. Simon and H.G. Nelson (London: British Museum Publications Limited, 1977) in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41, no. 2 (1981): 655–656.

2. The representative works following Fletcher's approach are Beatrice Bartlett, "Books of Revelations: The Importance of the Manchu Language Archival Record Books for Research on Ch'ing History," *Imperial China* 6 no. 2 (1985): 25–33; Pamela Kyle Crossley and Evelyn S. Rawski's "A Profile of the Manchu Languages in Ch'ing History," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 53, no. 1 (June 1993): 63–102; and Gertraude Roth Li, *Manchu: A Textbook for Reading Documents* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2000). The representative scholars who have contributed to the Qing studies with the Fletcher standard are Pamela Kyle Crossley, Mark Elliot, Nicola Di Cosmo, and Evelyn S. Rawski.

3. During my interview with him in Beijing on July 29, 2008, Asin Gioro Yingsheng pointed out that his first textbook in the 1980s had a number of mistakes because the printing editor did not know the Manchu language and could not, therefore, read his handwriting correctly.

4. The so-called twelve word initials are actually the twelve ending syllables in Manchu. Why it has been called "initial" needs further study. See An Shuangcheng. "Manwen shi'er zitou wojian" (My discussion on the Manchu twelve word initials, in *Manzu lishi yu wenhua* (The Manchu history and culture), edited by Wang Zhonghan (Beijing: Zhongyang minzu daxue chubanshe, 1996), pp. 233–243.

5. Interview on July 29, 2008.

6. Interview of An Shuangcheng on July 29, 2008, and Jin Baosen on August 14, 2008.

■ Source: Pang, Tatiana Aleksandrova and Pchelin, N.G. , 'The Qing imperial credentials in the St. Petersburg Collections', in Manuscripta Orientalia: *International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (March 2003), Thesa Publishers pp. 19–25.

THE QING IMPERIAL CREDENTIALS IN THE ST. PETERSBURG COLLECTIONS

T.A. Pang, N.G. Pchelin

Until recently the history of the Qing dynasty in China (1644–1911) has been studied by traditional sinology mostly on the basis of the Chinese language documents. Only by the end of the twentieth century the Manchu studies had raised the interest to the Manchu language materials of the Qing period.[1] It is well known that the Manchu language continued to be one of the official languages of the multinational Chinese state (along with Chinese and Mongolian), and in some cases was the only language of communication of Lifanyuan (the Board of Colonial affairs), mainly on relations with Russia and Mongolia. As a matter of fact, till the very end of the Qing dynasty all imperial official papers sent abroad were issued both in Manchu and Chinese. To show this we are going to introduce several Manchu-Chinese documents that are supposed to be the latest documents of this kind which were sent to Europe in 1908, that is three years before the Manchu dynasty was overthroned. These are imperial credentials that were sent to all countries to announce the ascending the throne of the young emperor Aisin-gioro Pu Yi and the beginning of the new Xuantong reign (22 January 1909–17 February 1912). When Pu Yi (b. 7 February 1906) was chosen by the empress-dowager Cixi (1835–1908) as a successor of the late emperor Zai Tian (1871–1908: reigned under the title Guangxu 1875–1909),[2] he was only two years old, or three *sui* according to the Chinese way of age counting. His father, the second prince Chun, served as regent, sharing power with the senior widow, who became Empress Dowager Longyu (1868–1913) after Cixi's death.[3] This short reign lasted only three years: Pu Yi's father and his foster mother had agreed for him to abdicate in favour of the republican government, which took place on 12 February 1912, thus putting an end to the rule of the Qing dynasty.

According to the established tradition, the reign period started on the first day of the coming lunar year, and the documents issued by a new emperor in the previous lunar year were usually registered by the reign period of the previous emperor. Therefore, officially the Xuantong period began on 22 January 1909, and the previous Guangxu period was considered to end on 21 January 1909. In the autobiography of Aisin-gioro Pu Yi, titled "From Emperor to Citizen", we read that he entered the Forbidden City on 13 November 1908, two days before Cixi died, and "on 2 December the 'Great Ceremony of Enthronement' took place",[4] from which day he became an emperor of China, although all imperial documents were still dated by the Guangxu period till 21 January 1909.

Naturally, the succession to the throne had to be announced to all states and empires that had diplomatic relations with the Qing dynasty. Special envoys were sent everywhere, delivering to foreign courts imperial credentials with the expressions of hopes to maintain further good relations. We may only suppose that these credentials are kept in the archives of different Ministries of Foreign affairs or special closed collections, since the information on these documents is rather scarce in literature. In any case, they are not mentioned in the catalogues of any European or Chinese Manchu collections. The only reference we have is a publication of the envelope of such a credential with the abstracts of the Manchu and Chinese texts in the Taiwanese journal *The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art* and a brief note by Zhuang Jifa: "*Guoshu—Qingting zhi Faguo guoshu*" ("the Qing court credential sent to France").[5] This makes us assume that the credential itself is kept in the National Palace Museum in Taipei. In 1996, the Peoples Republic of China issued a stamp showing the envelope of the credential to Belgium and the beginning of the Chinese text. But the texts of such documents were never published or studied. In this connection, the Manchu collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies proves to be a unique source. In the process of compiling the "Descriptive Catalogue of Manchu Manuscripts and Blockprints in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Issue 2", one of the authors of the present article was lucky to find three such credentials.[6] All the three are the documents that were sent to Russia by the Qing court and were composed on behalf of the young emperor Pu Yi. The documents are in Manchu (from left to right) and Chinese (from right to left), with the date in-between the texts bearing the red imperial seal over it (see *fig. 1*). The red square seal has the bilingual legend *Huangdi zhi bao // Han-i boobai* ("The treasure of the emperor"). The texts (6 lines per page; 20.8 × 22.0 cm) are written in black ink inside a printed red frame with the design of dragons playing with a pearl. The documents have an accordion binding with two hard covers on both sides (34.5 × 22.0 cm). The covers are bound in yellow silk with exquisite embroidery showing a dragon among the clouds, done in multicoloured satin-stitch technique (see the front cover of the present issue).

Each credential is kept in a *tao* (see the back cover of the present issue), which is fastened with two ivory buckles. In the centre of the front cover is the frame with the bilingual title *Amba Daicing gurun-i gurun-i bithe* and *Da Qing guo guoshu* ("The Credential of the Great Qing Empire") woven in black thread. Over and around the frame are three embroidered five-fingered dragons in the clouds: one at the top, two others—on both sides of the frame; they are shown playing with a pearl. At the bottom of the cover are embroidered water-waves with a *ru-yi* sceptre of ancient form, which is rising from the midst of the waters. The clouds and the upper part of the waves are in satin-stitch. The bodies of the dragons, the pearls, the lower part of waves, inside and outside the frames, as well as contours of all images, are executed in fastening technique, using white and yellow metal threads, with which a design is made; they are fixed in pairs to the silk base with silk threads (green, red and white). All three credentials from the Institute collection bear the same date—*Badarangga doro-i gûsin duici aniya omšon biyai orin uyun* and *Da Qing Guanxu sanshisi nian shiyi yue ershijiu ri*, that is, 29th day, 11th moon, 34th year of *Badarangga dora // Guanxu* (29 December 1908).

Recently another, the fourth credential, was discovered in the depository of the Hermitage Museum (Oriental Department). It has the same artistic characteristics, but the document is kept in hard card box bound in faded pink silk. The box is fastened with ivory buckles. According to the inventories, the document was acquired by the Hermitage in 1937 from unknown source. In comparison with the Institute credentials, this one is of earlier time; it is dated *Amba Daicing gurun-i Badarangga doro-i gûsin ilaci aniya omšon biyai ice // Da Qing Guanxu sanshisan nian shiyi yue chu yi ri*, that is the 1st day, 11th moon, 33d year of *Badarangga doro // Guanxu* (5 December 1907).

Below we give the Chinese and Manchu texts of the Institute and Hermitage documents with their English translation. Text H 18 is a credential announcing the ascendance of the new Manchu emperor.

Document H 18

Chinese text

大清國國書

　大清國
大皇帝敬政書於
　大俄國
大皇帝陛下朕以沖齡
　踐阼寶籙誕膺
天命祗承夙夜乾惕惟有
　恪遵成憲孜孜求
　治親仁善鄰以期
　於與国共臻輯睦
貴國與中國通好有
　年邇來邦交尤篤
　茲朕當纘統之始
　允宜修書布告虔
　達悃忱
大皇帝宣化綏猷令名
　久著自必篤念舊
　好表示同情從此
　履祉延禧四方和
　會兩國臣民亦莫
　不登康樂而享乂
　安不禁有厚望焉
大清光緒三十四年十一月二十九日

Manchu text

Amba Daicing gurun-i gurun-i bithe.

Amba Daicing gurun-i / amba hûwangdi gingguleme / bithe arafi / amba Oros gurun-i / amba hûwangdi de benebuhe bi se / ajigan soorin de tefi gurun-i boobai be ambarame alime / abkai hesebun be gingguleme alifi. erde / yamji geleme olhome damu toktoho kooli be / gingguleme dahame. sithûme sithûme dasan be / baime gosin de gajime adaki de sain / obume ereni gurun-i emgi uhei hûwaliyasun / hûwangga de isibure be ererengge bi // wesihun gurun jai dulimbai gurun sain-i guculehe aniya goidaha ere udu aniya gurun de guculehengge ele haji. te bi jing doro be sirara tuktan erinde giyan-i bithe arafi selgiyeme yabubume gingguleme unenggi yargiyan be hafuci acambi. //

amba hûwangdi de wen be selgiyeme bodogon be toktoho sain geba goidame iletulehe be dahame urunakû fe sain be hing seme gûnime. uhei gûnin be alime gaime. erecti hûturi fengšen golmin goidame. duin ergi acame isabume. juwe // gurun-i amban irgese inu nelhe sebjen be / bahafi taifin elhe be alirakûngge akû yargiyan-i hing seme erehunjere babi. //

Amba Daicing gurun-i Badarangga doro-i gûsin duici aniya omšon biyai orin uyun.

Translation

From Chinese

Having respectfully written this letter, the Great Emperor of the Great Qing Empire orders to send it to the Great Emperor of the Great Russian Empire.

I, the Emperor, [who] ascended the throne in my young age, inherited the dynastic treasures (i.e. symbols of power—*T.P.*) and respectfully took the Mandate of Heaven.

From morning till evening, with fear inside [me], I incessantly think of following [all] the established laws in every detail. With all what is in my powers [I] try to rule benevolently and, as [if I were] a relative [of You] to strengthen good neighbouring relations, in a hope to attain peace and harmony between our states.

For long there have been amiable relations [between] Your state and China. Since recently these relations have become [even] closer, and I, the Emperor, hope that this [will last long]. That is the reason why I, the Emperor, issued an order to compile this letter to express my sincere feelings [towards Your state] (lit. "the letter which will spread and explain my sincerity"—*T.P.*).

You, the Great Emperor, is a source of good intentions which give rise to changes and realisation of state plans. Your fame and reputation have been known for long. This makes me remember [Your] old good [towards our country] and express my understanding [of this fact].

Let in the future happiness and prosperity reach four corners [of the world]! Let [all] ordinary people and dignitaries of our countries have health and joy! Let everybody enjoy peace and tranquillity! I sincerely place all my hopes on this.

29th day, 11 moon, 34th year of the Guanxu reign of the Great Qing.

From Manchu

Having respectfully written this letter, the Great Emperor of the Great Daicing Empire ordered to deliver it to the Great Emperor of the Great Russian Empire.

I ascended the throne in my young age. It is with great respect that I received the state treasures and the Mandate of Heaven, [and from] morning till evening, with fear [inside me], respectfully follow the established order and constantly think with benevolence of governing [the state] and acting in [the spirit of] a good neighbourliness [towards You]. In this way I hope to establish friendship and harmony between [our] states. [Your] esteemed Empire and the Middle Empire have good friendly relations for already a long period. During the last years friendship between our states became especially warm. Now, at the beginning of my rule, I write this so that the truth and facts should be announced and known everywhere.

You, the Great Emperor, is he who disseminates [the principles] of De and Wen and determine strategies. Since [Your] good reputation is universally known, [I] sincerely think about the old good [relations between our states] and make them [integral] part of [my] thoughts. From now on, let [Your] fortune and prosperity be long and reach the four corners [of the world]! Let people and state officials of both states be healthy and joyful, and let there will be no one without peace and tranquillity! This is really [my] sincere and true hope.

29th day, 11 the moon, 34th year of *Badarangga doro* of the Great Daicing Empire.

Document H 19

Chinese text

大清國國書

大清國
大皇帝敬問
大俄國
大皇帝好朕維政典以治
當為大綱理財乃經
國之要務
先皇帝以
貴國講求財政考鏡足
資特遺尚書錄奉天
巡撫唐紹怡恭賫國
書前赴
貴國考察財政茲朕纘
承大統遵守成規允
宜加備國書命該大
臣賫往一併呈還該
大臣才識明通究心
財政尚望
大皇帝推誠愎待俾得從
容研究取益宏多實
紉厚誼
大清光緒三十四年十一月二十九日

Manchu text

Amba Daicing gurun-i gurun-i bithe.

Amba Daicing gurun-i / amba hûwangdi gingguleme / amba Oros gurun-i / amba hûwangdi de sain be fonjiki. / bi gûnici dasan kooli oci bayan de / isibure be amba hešen obume ulin be / icihiyaci. uthai gurun be dasara oyonggo baita / nenehe hûwangdi / wesihun gurun de ulin-i dasan be / giyangname baifi. kimcime baicame akdaci ojoro / jakade. cohotoi aliha amban-i jergi Fung tiyan-i giyarime dasara amban Tang Šoo-i be // takûrafi. gingguleme gurun-i baita be benebufi neneme / wesihun gurun de genefi ulin-i dasan be / kimcime baicahabi. te bi amba doro be / sirame alifi toktoho kooli be dahame / tuwakiyaha be dahame giyan-i neneme gurun-i / bithe be belhefi. harangga amban be / benebufi sasa alibuha harangga amban erdemu / sarasu getuken hafu. mujilen de ulin-i dasan be sibkime hono / amba hûwangdi unenggi be anafi dabali / tuwara be ereme ereni elhe nuhan-i sibkime fuhašame. tusa be baharangge umesi // labdu oho be dahame yargiyan-i jiramilara gûnin be baimbi. //

Amba Daicing gurun-i Badarangga doro-i gûsin duici aniya omšon biyai orin uyun.

Translation

From Chinese

The Great Emperor of the Great Qing Empire respectfully asks about the health of the Great Emperor of the Russian Empire.

I, the Emperor, govern the affairs of property following only administrative laws, and solve [questions concerning] property on the basis of "great ropes" (i.e. great principles—*T.P.*), which [I] consider to be the most important thing in governing the state.

Earlier the emperor sent the governor of Fengtian [province], Tang Shaoyi, in the rank of the Board's president, to deliver [You] respectfully the state document. He came to Your state in order to study [Your methods] of governing property affairs. Now I have ascended the throne (lit. "great tradition"—*T.P.*) and respectfully follow the established rules. In addition, I have composed the state letter and ordered this dignitary to deliver it together [with the other documents]. This dignitary is a talented, clever, wise, [and] bright [man] experienced in property affairs.

[I] sincerely hope that the Great Emperor will be open [to Our request] and will take care to comprehend [the essence of] it, and from this he will obtain great profit. [Now I] respectfully express my firm friendship.

29th day, 11 moon, 34th year of the Guanxu reign of the Great Qing.

From Manchu

The Great Emperor of the Great Daicing Empire respectfully inquires about the good health of the Great Emperor of the Great Russian Empire.

My opinion is that, what concerns the state rule, it is most important in governing the state to bring about the main principle of obtaining richness and of [duly] administrating property.

The previous Emperor asked to explain how property in [Your] respected Empire is governed. To carry out thorough investigations [in this field] the governor of Fung-tian [province], Tang Šoo-i, in the rank of the Board's president, was specially sent to deliver respectfully the [Emperor's] questions. He reached [Your] esteemed state and carefully examined [the question] of governing property.

Now I succeeded the great government, and, in full accordance with the established law, and following [all] observations, [I] prepared the state document similar to that in the past. [I also] send the above-mentioned dignitary with the order to deliver [it] together [with the other documents]. The [above-]mentioned dignitary will examine, as far as his knowledge and clear, comprehensive mind permits him, how property is governed [in Your state]. [You] the Great Emperor, relying on truth and waiting for [the results of] the investigation, which will be done thoroughly and with no hurry, will obtain great benefit. I hope [on this] with really generous mind.

29th day, 11 the moon, 34th year of *Badarangga doro* of the Great Daicing Empire.

Document H 20

Chinese text

大清國國書

大清國
大皇帝敬問
大俄國
大皇帝好中國與
貴國通好有年使命往還向
稱親密茲朕仰承
天命寅紹足基特命駐紮
貴國使臣薩蔭圖呈遞國書
以表朕委任之意該大臣
忠誠亮達學識宏通辦理
交涉事件悉臻允治尚望
大皇帝照常接待俾盡厥職克
令兩國邦交益敦親睦是
所厚望
大清光緒三十四年 十一月二十九日

Manchu text

Amba Daicing gurun-i gurun-i bithe.

Amba Daicing gurun-i / amba hûwangdi gingguleme / amba Oros gurun-i / amba hûwangdi de sain be fonjiki. dulimbai / gurun jai wesihun gurun sain-i guculehe aniya goidaha. takûraha elcin genere jidere de aifini haji / jiramin seci ombi. te bi hargašame / abka hesebun be alifi amba doro be / gingguleme siraha cohotoi / wesihun gurun de tebunehe takûraha amban / Saintu be gurun-i bithe be alibufi // bi afaha tušan-i gûnin be iletulebuhe / harangga amban tondo unenggi akdun sijirhûn / tacin sarasu amba hafu ishunde tabušara / baita hacin be icihiyahangge gemu lak seme / acanara de isibuha. hono / amba hûwangdi de da an-i obume tuwame ereni terei tušan be akûmbure be erehe / bime juwe gurun ishunde guculehengge ele / haji hûwaliyasun be jiramilame muterengge. erebe hing seme erehunjehengge inu. //

Amba Daicing gurun-i Badarangga doro-i gûsin duici aniya omšon biyai orin uyun.

Translation

From Chinese

The Great Emperor of the Great Qing Empire respectfully asks about the health of the Great Emperor of Russian Empire.

It is already several years that China and [Your] esteemed state are in friendly relations [with each other], which has a result of mutual warmth and closeness.

Having received the Mandate of Heaven and respectfully inherited the throne (lit. "great foundation"—*T.P.*), I, the Emperor, issued a special decree to send to Your state our dignitary, Sa Yintu, to deliver the official letter with the expressions of my official intentions. The [above-]mentioned dignitary is a devoted and sincere man. He is clever and wise. [He] possesses an extensive knowledge and great experience in solving difficult questions. I am in a hope that You, the Emperor, will receive [Our envoy] in due way, and let him fulfil his duties in order the relations between our countries become closer and more friendly. I place all my hopes on this.

29th day, 11 moon, 34th year of the Guanxu reign of the Great Qing.

From Manchu

The Great Emperor of the Great Daicing Empire respectfully inquires about the good health of the Great Emperor of the Great Russian Empire.

For many years the Middle Empire had good and friendly relations with [Your] esteemed Empire. For a long time, after we had exchanged [our] envoys, [these relations] could be called warm and amiable.

Now, with [my eyes turned towards the heavens], I have received the Mandate of Heaven and respectfully inherited the state governing. I specially ordered the dignitary Saintu, the envoy sent to Your esteemed Empire, to deliver the state document [to You] and to bring to Your notice [Our] thoughts about the duties which have been bestowed upon me. The [above-]mentioned dignitary is an honest, reliable, capable and wise [man], who will resolve [our] mutual misunderstandings in order to reach agreements in right time.

[I] still [hope] that, [true to our] old accordance, the Great Emperor will assist [this dignitary] with doing his best to fulfil his duty. Let mutual friendly relations between the two Empires become even warmer and more harmonious! This is what I truly hope for.

29th day, 11 the moon, 34th year of *Badarangga doro* of the Great Daicing Empire.

Hermitage document LT 1749

Chinese text

大清國國書
大皇帝敬問
大清國
大皇帝敬問
大俄國
大皇帝好朕眷念友邦夙敦睦誼
前者特簡胡推德為駐紮
貴國欽差大臣接任以來極承
推誠相信俾盡厥職現屆期滿
召令 回國特諭呈遞國書用
昭 鄭重邦交之意并祝
福履綏和
國運昌盛
大清光緒三十三年 十一月初一日

Manchu text

Amba Daicing gurun-i / amba hûwangdi gingguleme / Amba Oros gurun-i / amba hûwangdi de sain be fonjiki. bi guculere / gurun be hing seme gûnime. daci / hûwaliyasun hûwangga be jiramilambihe. onggolo cohotoi // Hù Wei De be sonjofi / wesihun gurun de tebunefi hesei takûraha / amban tucibufi. tušan be alire ci / ebsi. umesi / unenggi be anafi ishunde akdulame. terei / tušan be akûmbuha. ne aniya jalufi // elbifi gurun de maribufi. cohotoi imbe / gurun-i bithe be alibufi. guculere gurun be / ujen obure gûnin be iletulehe bime. geli / hûturi fenkšen acame alire / gurun-i forgon yendeme mukdendere be jalbarireo.

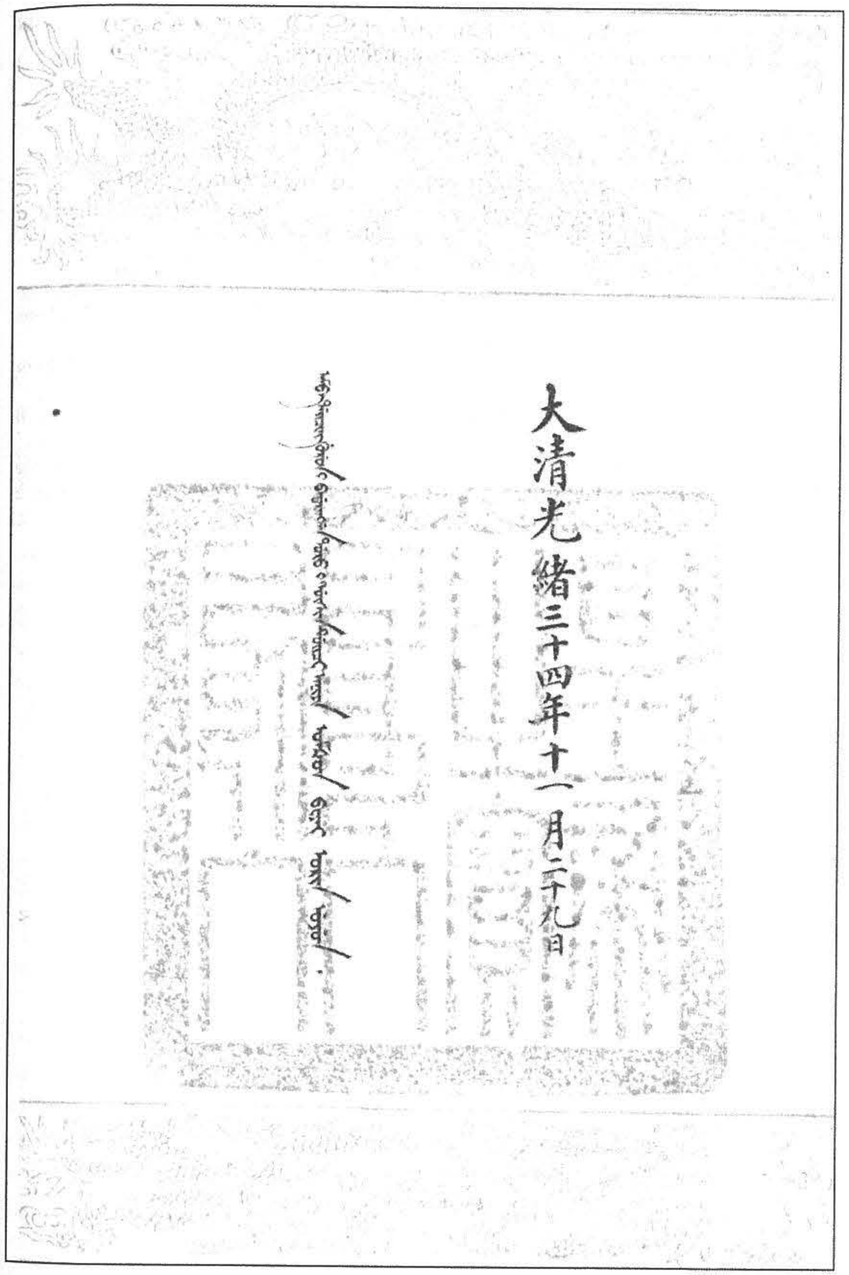
Amba Daicing gurun-i Badarangga doro-i gûsin ilaci aniya omšon biyai ice.//

Translation

From Chinese	From Manchu
The Great Emperor of the Great Qing Empire respectfully asks about the health of the Great Emperor of the Russian Empire. I, the Emperor, incessantly care about [Your] friendly state and from morning [till evening] send [my] benevolence and friendliness [to You]. Earlier the envoy Hu Weide was sent to Your country. From the very moment the [above-]mentioned dignitary was appointed by us [to carry out this mission] and started his service, he considered his duty to establish sincerity and mutual confidence [between our countries]. Now, when the period of his mission is over, [I] order him to return home. He was ordered, in particular, to deliver the official letter with the exposition of [Our] thoughts as well as [the statement] of the importance of the relations [between our countries]. [I] also pray for happiness, peace and prosperity of [Your] state. 1st day, 11th moon, 33d year of the Guanxu period of the Great Qing.	The Great Emperor of the Great Daicing Empire respectfully inquires about good health of the Great Emperor of the Great Russian Empire. I sincerely think about the friendly state with which harmony and friendship have been strengthening from the very beginning. Earlier Hu Wei De was chosen by [Our] order and appointed on mission to Your esteemed country. Till now he carried out his duty with great honesty, doing his best in strengthening mutual [relations]. I order him to return to [his] homeland when this year expires. I order him, in particular, to deliver the state document [to You], where I expose my important thoughts to the friendly state. Moreover, I pray that the period of [Your] state will be flourishing and raising, and full of fortune and prosperity. 1st day, 11th moon, 33d year of *Badarangga doro* of the Great Daicing Empire.

* * *

It is noticeable that the Manchu and Chinese versions of the four documents slightly differ, so that some places in the Manchu texts can be understood only with the aid of their Chinese parallels. This especially concerns political formulas, typical of the Chinese documents. For example, in document H 19 the Manchu term *amba doro* ("the great rite, doctrine") is a word-to-word translation of the Chinese *da gang* 大綱 ("the general principles", lit. "big robes"), which means "the imperial throne", and is rightly used in Manchu with the word *alimbi* ("to ascend"). Further, the Manchu dictionaries do not give the expression *ulin-i dasan* (where *ulin* means "wealth, property" and *dasan*—"rule, government"). Here, also, it is a word-to-word translation of the Chinese *licai* 理財 ("to direct finance"). But such observations resulted from the documents' reading



大清光緒三十四年十一月二十九日

Figure 1. Manchu-Chinese date "29th day, 11th moon, 34th year of *Badarangga doro // Guanxu*" (= 29 December 1908) and the red imperial seal in credentials H 18, H 19, H 20.

need special investigation in a separate article, while the authors' task was only to introduce these unique documents into scholarly circulation.

Notes

1. G. Stary, "Man'chzhurovedenie nakanune tret'ego tysiacheletiia" ("Manchu studies on the eve of the third millennium"), *Nasledie mongolovedа O. M. Kovalevskogo i sovremennost'* (Kazan, 2002), pp. 74–9.
2. A.W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, reprint edn. (Taipei, 1991), i, p. 733.
3. E.S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors. A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkley—Los Angeles—London, 1998), p. 136.
4. *From Emperor to Citizen. Autobiography of Aisin-gioro Pu Yi*, trans, by W.J.F. Jenner (Beijing, 1979), p. 32.
5. Zhuang Jifa, "Guoshu—Qingting zhi Faguo guoshu", *The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art / Gugong wenwu yuekan* (Taipei), No. 200, November 1999, p. 21.
6. T.A. Pang. *Descriptive Catalogue of Manchu Manuscripts and Blockprints in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies Russian Academy of Sciences*, issue 2 (Wiesbaden, 2001), Nos. 104–6.—Aetas Manchurica, 9.

■ Source: Elliott, Mark C., 'Whose empire shall it be? Manchu figurations of historical process in the early seventeenth century', in Lynn A. Struve, (ed.), *Time, temporality, and imperial transition: East Asia from Ming to Qing*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005, pp. 31–72.

WHOSE EMPIRE SHALL IT BE?
MANCHU FIGURATIONS OF HISTORICAL PROCESS IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Mark C. Elliott

Charting the passage of time in imperial China was an inherently political act. While in the Western world calendrical matters were mostly left up to the church—Roman rulers fussed about the months but cared little about the year—in China and much of the rest of East Asia the year mattered most, and it was the state that decided what year it was.[1] This was true even for the unlettered sixteenth-century Manchus dwelling on the northeastern periphery of the Chinese ecumene. As Ming subjects whose leaders made regular visits to the Ming capital, Beijing, the Manchus—or Jurchens, as they were known before 1636[2]—were naturally in the habit of thinking of the year (when they thought of it at all) in terms of the length of time the reigning Chinese emperor had been on the throne. That is, for them, as for the Chinese, 1599 (to pick a year at random) was the twenty-seventh year of Wanli, "Wanli" (lit. ten thousand ages) being the reign title of the current Ming ruler. Thus, when the Manchus began entertaining imperial ambitions of their own, one way in which they expressed their rivalry with the Ming was precisely by claiming authority over time. Inherent in this strategy was a general shift in the Manchus' very perceptions of temporality and their place in history.

The Manchus reconfigured themselves temporally in two different ways. First, they declared their own reign titles. Before occupying Beijing (see Map 1)—when others would have to concede that they actually ruled a core area of China and could rightly assume control of the sinitic calendar—the Manchus promulgated four such names: Tianming, normally dated from 1616; Tiancong, declared in 1626; Chongde, declared in 1636; and Shunzhi, declared in 1643.[3] Graphs such as *tian* (heaven) and *de* (virtue), carefully chosen with the assistance of Chinese advisors, were intended to underscore Manchu legitimacy in Chinese eyes. Their deployment of Chinese-style chrononyms shows that Qing leaders well understood the implications of "changing the era" (Ch. *gaiyuan*) and belies the Manchus' reputation as uncivilized vandals.

The second aspect of the Manchu shift in the organization of time emerged in the latter 1610s, when the political confederation coalescing under Nurhaci named itself the Jinguo (Ma. Aisin gurun, lit. golden nation or golden dynasty). By designating itself with the same Chinese graph as that of the twelfth-century Jin dynasty, which traced its origins to roughly the same region of eastern Eurasia and ruled much of North China between 1115 and 1234,[4] the preconquest Manchu state projected itself as heir to an older imperial legacy. Insisting that the Jin past was literally his past and that Jin history was his history, Nurhaci (1559–1626) sought to inscribe time independently of the Ming state, which he now professed to regard with contempt. But his appeal to history also included generous references to analogies and examples that could legitimate his rivalry with the Wanli emperor, whom he also now professed to regard with contempt Nurhaci's son and successor, Hong Taiji (1592–1643), inherited this strategic vision and even ordered his scholars to translate the official history of the Jin from Chinese into Manchu. By simultaneously ordering the translation of the official histories of the Liao (907–1125) and the Yuan (1215–1368), he elevated the Manchu link to previous non-Han regimes to a more abstract plane, reinforcing the Qing claim to legitimacy within a broad imperial continuum while continuing to insist that Heaven was impartial and favored the more virtuous contender for the Mandate.

These developments raise a number of questions regarding the Manchu perception of the historical moment. What was the significance to Nurhaci and Hong Taiji of historical parallels? How did the Manchus understand their place in history? What were their sources of information? How strong was the early-Qing self-identification with the Liao, Jin, and Yuan? What sorts of lessons did they hope to draw from history generally and from the experiences of those prior alien dynasties in particular? In putting these questions, I am deliberately bracketing a related set of concerns having to do with how valid certain historical comparisons might have been or how "real" the resemblances are between the Manchu imperial enterprise and those previous ones. The latter problem, which modern scholars began investigating in the 1930s and 1940s, centered on the responses of the Liao, Jin, Yuan, and Qing—often grouped together as "conquest dynasties" or "alien regimes"—to essentially the same political challenge, namely, how to rule China without becoming Chinese. Though they met this challenge in different ways and with different degrees of success, the northern dynasties invite comparison because they shared a number of similarities, among them an emphasis on martial over civil virtues, a reliance on Chinese collaborators, the maintenance of multiple capitals and political centers on the steppe, and the imposition of policies designed to sustain the distinctiveness of the conquest people.[5]

Though it recognizes these similarities, the present essay is not a study in comparative history. Its focus is the matter of contemporary Manchu consciousness of such similarities and the historical perspective the Manchu elite brought to their project of becoming masters of the "Under-Heaven" (Ma. *abkai fejergi*, Ch. *tianxia*), for it is clear from the record that the past thrust itself forcefully upon contemporary awareness and contributed to the sense that a great drama was playing itself out. Like Roger Des Forges in the essay that follows, I am interested in understanding the operation of historical analogies at the time as a means of gauging what people thought they were doing and why. To explore this issue, I begin by considering the references to Liao, Jin, and Yuan history made in conversations conducted "privately" among the Manchus themselves as well as "publicly" with outsiders in the period leading up to the 1644 conquest. The surviving Manchu-language records from the preconquest period show that the Qing reflection on the past, which began early in the seventeenth century under Nurhaci, underwent an important transition under Hong Taiji, who abandoned any pretense that the Qing literally was a reincarnation of the Jin. Instead, Hong Taiji focused on an examination of the historical record to see not just how previous northerners had managed the feat of conquering and holding the realm, but also how they had lost it. This shift is best exemplified by the translation into Manchu of the Liao, Jin, and Yuan histories, commissioned by Hong Taiji in the late 1630s and printed in 1646. Those translations, together with the early Manchu archives, are an excellent source for understanding early Manchu political culture, and they enable us to see the difficult path taken by the Qing—with one foot in the central plain and the other in the steppe—in maintaining a dual basis for their imperial enterprise.

Nurhaci's Historical Rhetoric

The gradual expansion of the early Manchu state in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries depended on a skillful combination of warfare, negotiation, and institution-building. During that process, both Nurhaci and Hong Taiji often took the opportunity to reflect on the precedents for their actions. A careful reading of the chronicles from the period between 1607 and 1643 reveals at least forty-five different historical references to the Liao, Jin, and Yuan in oral and written communications.[6]

Ten appear in correspondence with the Korean king, another eighteen in messages sent to various Chinese recipients (either inhabitants of Liaodong, potential defectors, or the Ming emperor), and one in a letter to the Khalkha (Eastern) Mongols. Sixteen more are found in communications with Manchus or non-Mongol allies. In all of these cases, the past functioned as a mirror in which present circumstances were reflected, and precedents were raised to guide decision-making and to illustrate proper (or improper) behavior. But closer examination reveals some obvious differences in the way precedents were used in communications with outsiders as compared to insiders. Broadly speaking, in dealings with those outside the Manchu confederation, on one hand, references to the past and specific historical events or figures were intended to persuade adversaries to cease resistance, to bolster Manchu prestige and legitimacy, or both. Historical allusions used in internal communications, on the other hand, were aimed to stimulate consideration of the risks and rewards of the imperial project.

In trying to establish good relations with his neighbors to the southeast, for instance, Nurhaci found it useful to remind the Korean king of the old friendship between the Jurchen and Korean nations. In a 1619 letter, he wrote as follows:

> After you, Korea, gave troops to the Chinese to come against us, I thought: "It is probably not that the Korean soldiers have willingly come, but that they cannot refuse the Chinese, whom they must repay for their assistance against the Japanese. In days of old, a Korean official named Jo Wichong, who had rebelled, taking with him over forty cities, came unto our Jin emperor, Dading. Dading responded, saying, 'When we were fighting against the Chinese [Song-dynasty emperors] Zhao Huizong and Zhao Qinzong, the Korean king gave them nothing. Because Korea is a righteous nation, we must send [Jo Wichong] back.'" Considering this, it is not that from the beginning there has been ill will between our two nations.[7]

Emphasizing in this way the historically friendly bonds between Koreans and Jurchens, Nurhaci sought to make common cause against the Ming and to persuade Korea not to give haven to the Ming general Mao Wenlong. The same story, combined with stories of conflict arising over other refugees during fighting between the Liao and the Jin, was used repeatedly in three separate letters sent to the Korean side in July and December of 1621 and January of 1622, urging an end to collaboration between Ming and Korean forces.[8] Similarly, after the fall of Liaoyang in 1621 when the Ming inspector there, Zhang Quan, was taken prisoner and brought before Nurhaci, Hong Taiji employed the following argument to try to coax Zhang into joining the Manchus or at least to kneel before his father: "Once a long time ago two of your Chinese [emperors], Zhao [Song] Huizong and Zhao [Song] Qinzong were captured, but because they knelt in prostration when they met our Jin emperor, they were made princes among us. Why won't you kneel? I am urging you to do so in order to save your life!" But Zhang steadfastly refused, saying, "O Prince, even if I the, I will not forget the lesson you have taught me. It is no doubt the case that you are warning me so that I may live. But those emperors, Huizong and Qinzong, were small emperors who ruled during a time of confusion in the country. I cannot kneel, lest I bring shame to the greatness of my lord's rule."[9]

Speaking in these terms, as Zhang Quan's response shows, was to speak in a language that both Koreans and Chinese could easily understand, even if it did not produce the hoped-for results. It can be argued that an appeal to precedent is a common rhetorical technique found in any argumentation and that such an appeal by no means implies that the person invoking the precedent necessarily sees himself to be in the same situation or acting in the same historical context (strictly speaking, for the argument to be effective, a precedent need only convey an equivalent moral or logical charge). But the deliberate choices Manchu leaders made in selecting which precedents to raise, nearly all of which came from the history of relations with northern dynasties, suggests that they indeed perceived themselves as operating in the same continuum. There were exceptions, such as the April 1625 letter from a group of Han-Chinese officials on the Qing side to Mao Wenlong, then leading a rearguard resistance from near the Korean border. They cited instances not from Liao or Jin history, but from the history of dynasties ruled by Han Chinese, of ministers who had quit their former lords in favor of reputedly more virtuous men, pointing out that in so doing those men had left behind sterling reputations. The examples given were Han Xin, who abandoned Xiang Yu (for his refusal to recognize Liu Bang as Heaven's choice to found a new dynasty, the Han), and Hu Jingde, who abandoned Liu Wuzhou (for his refusal to recognize Li Yuan and his sons as Heaven's choices to succeed the Sui in founding the Tang).[10] But another missive directed at Mao and sent later the same year cited some of the same cases and added one more—that of Liu Zheng, who, significantly, deserted the Song for the Mongol khan, Khubilai.[11]

The examples above involved specific precedents intended to sway an individual in an immediate decision. More commonly, Manchu appeals to history made to outsiders focused on the larger principles by which rulers came to power, aiming thereby to influence overall policy by addressing Chinese or Korean objections that the Manchus were unfit to rule. One of the earliest such arguments that has survived is contained in a long letter of 1620 from Nurhaci to the Khalkha Mongols. After cataloging the outrages committed by the Ming upon his people, the Hada, the Ula, and different Mongol groups, Nurhaci explained that Heaven's favor had enabled the Manchus first to defeat an army of 30,000 led against them by the Koreans and then to defeat an army of 10,000 led against them by the general Jaisai, whom they then captured with his entire family. He went on to tell the following story:

> Long ago, the khan of the Great Liao, having subjugated the Chinese emperor Zhao Huizong along with the Mongol, Korean, and other nations, went net-fishing on the Ula River in the Jurchen country, where, after catching some sturgeon, he held a banquet. He had all of the Jurchen officials dance for him. When one official named Agūda was told to dance, he would not. The Liao khan, Tianzuo, said to his minister, Xiao Fengxian, "Since this Agūda has refused my order to dance, will he not disobey me again [someday]?" But Xiao Fengxian counseled [otherwise], saying: "These people live without refinements. What if it turns out that he is a good man, without evil intent? I fear that killing him would be unfounded. He has not committed any crime. Why kill him just because he won't dance?" So the khan rescinded his command to kill [Agūda]. Agūda heard this story and, fearing the Liao, built walled forts and secured the territory. When it came to war, Heaven approved Agūda. Having completely conquered the Liao, [Agūda] took the Liao khan, Tianzuo, as his captive and sent him off far away, demoting him from khan to be Haibin prince.[12]

Nurhaci's point was not, as might be expected, that the Liao emperor had made an error in judgment, but that Heaven chooses those whom it will favor and that the mighty inevitably fall from grace. As he observed, this was true even of the Jin-dynasty Jurchens:

> In the 5th month of the 6th year of the reign of the Taihe khan [1206], the khan commanded the leader of the Mongol nation, Temüjin, to proceed to Jingzhou to pay obeisance and bring tribute, and sent his uncle, a prince named Yongji [to go receive it]. Yongji went and, arriving at Jingzhou, met Temüjin, who had brought tribute from Mongolia. Recognizing that he was a man of unusual birth, after Temüjin returned home, Yongji reported to the Jin khan: "This Temüjin is not like the people who have always brought us tribute. He is someone who is going to cause us trouble some day. Better to think of some reason having to do with the frontier, accuse him of a crime, and kill him!" But the Jin khan replied, "If we kill someone who has come prostrating himself and bearing tribute, why would the people of the four quarters continue to come to us?" and he declined Yongji's counsel. When Temüjin got wind of this, he stopped coming himself and sent officials instead. After the Taihe khan [i.e., emperor Zhangzong] died, Yongji became the khan and swore to kill Temüjin. When Temüjin heard [that the Jin khan had died], he asked the Jin representatives, "As the khan has died, who has been made the next khan?" The representatives answered, "Yongji, the khan's uncle, and seventh son of Dading khan, is now khan." Temüjin replied: "You have been thinking that your central Jin nation will abide like Heaven. But in making Yongji khan, you are again only human," and he spat toward the south. "From now on we will no longer go [to pay tribute to the Jin]." Thinking the worst, [the Jin] attacked, but Heaven favored Temüjin, and so the Mongol Chinggis Khan took over from [lit. took the *doro* from] the Jin khan.[13]

Lest his Mongol audience think that they were immune to Heaven's laws, Nurhaci quickly added: "After Chinggis Khan, Khubilai Sechen Khan built and then lived in the city of Dadu. But during the time of Toghon Temür, this was taken away by the Chinese Hongwu emperor, who dwelt there [instead]. These are the stories I have heard about the old days." The grand lesson he drew from these legends was this:

> When one looks at the precedents of earlier generations, once the Heavenly [appointed] time for decline has come, that nation that was seemingly as wise as the spirits loses its wisdom and becomes stupid and confused; forsaking the speech of correct and good people, its people adopt the treacherous speech of evil and false people. Unable to implement propriety, they practice wickedness and destroy the nation. [But] once the Heavenly [appointed] time for arising has come, Heaven raises [them] and the stupid become wise, the evil good. All of you grasping this trajectory of the course or nations, when you speak, you will all speak what is correct and true.[14]

The purpose of this letter was to persuade his audience that the "Heavenly appointed time" had come for the rise of the Manchu nation and that the Khalkhas would do well to throw their lot in with Nurhaci. But the context in which the message was presented, constructed around a retelling of Liao, Jin, and Yuan history, is extremely revealing. Nurhaci appears to have hoped to encourage his audience to associate him not just with the Jin founder, Agūda, but also with the Yuan founder, Temüjin, thereby elevating his prestige among potential Mongol followers. At the same time, he also wished to remind them of the vicissitudes of historical fortune, to make people think that, if the past was any guide, the Ming was indeed on its way out and the state that he was building was the best bet to replace it. A quarter century before a Manchu emperor actually occupied the throne in Beijing, Manchu belief in the logic of historical process lent them the confidence to adopt an aggressive diplomatic stance.

Hong Taiji's Reflections on Virtue

There is no mention of the Wanli emperor by name in the preceding letter, but in letters sent to Chinese recipients with the same goals in mind, Nurhaci and Hong Taiji were by no means above casting aspersions on the fitness of the Ming ruler and classifying him together with notorious figures from ancient Chinese history—a practice that, as the essay following shows, mimicked exactly the habits of Chinese literati, who were forever vilifying their enemies or exonerating themselves with (sually veiled) references to historical precedent. In a letter sent late in 1621 to the Han population living in Liaodong, Nurhaci explained that he intended to implement a fairer policy of corvée and that because his laws were fairer, "Heaven favors me" (Ma. *abka mimbe gosimbi*):

> They say that, in every country, the king's woes come not from outside but from within himself. In ancient times, [rulers such as] King Jie [of Shang], King Zhou [of Zhou], the First Emperor of Qin, Emperor Yang of the Sui, and emperor Wanyan Liang of the Jin all immersed themselves in liquor, women, and wealth and no longer troubled themselves about the country. Having ceased to govern, by themselves they brought ruin to their rule. [Wanli], the emperor of you Chinese, does not rule fairly. He himself allows the eunuchs to take property but exempts the property of the dishonest and crafty from being taken, [instead] causing those with property who are upright and honest to suffer. This is not the enlightened management of internal [affairs]. Moreover, as he interferes in the affairs of other countries outside his borders and confuses right and wrong by blaming rebellions on Heaven, [Heaven] has given me the emperor's lands east of the [Liao] River.[15]

By portraying the Wanli emperor in rather distasteful company, Nurhaci sought to explain his own success in terms that the Chinese inhabitants of the Liaodong region would understand: the enlightened ruler rules in accordance with, and at the pleasure of, Heaven's will, and the hegemon does not. By this logic, because the Chinese ruler was no longer a moral man, the Manchu conquest of Liaodong was not a violation of Heaven's principles but, on the contrary, accorded with them. In other words, in keeping with the most fundamental of all Chinese political formulations, it all came down to virtue. Very much the same line of reasoning is found in a speech made circa 1630 in which the examples of Jie, Zhou, Qin Shihuangdi, and others were used to reproach not only Wanli but also the leaders of erstwhile Jianzhou rivals, such as Wan Khan of the Hada and Bujantai of the Ula, who "betrayed the Way" in their greed, their love of liquor, and so forth.[16]

Particularly important in such appeals was the notion that the empire did not belong to any one person or any one people, As Hong Taiji wrote in 1637 to the Korean king: "An old expression says: 'The Under-Heaven is not one person's realm. The Under-Heaven belongs to all people and goes to him who is virtuous.' Thus the Ming Hongwu emperor, having eliminated the surrounding kingdoms, established his 'great name' [i.e., reign title] at Jinling and later took the realm from the Yuan" (JMD: X, 4631/MBRT: Taizong VI, 2.905–906). In other words, good rulers like the Hongwu emperor were succeeded by bad ones like Wanli; likewise, bad rulers like King Zhou and the First Emperor of Qin were replaced by good ones like King Wen of Zhou and emperor Gaozu of the Han. This was why dynasties were forever rising and falling. Such was the reasoning in a letter sent ten years earlier to a lama named Li, a priest mediating between the Ming and the Manchus:

> From ancient times on, where are there no instances of rise and decline? As to why this should be so, [one need only think of] the Liao khan Tianzuo, who, without reason, wished to kill the Jin khan Taizu, which led to war; or of the Jin khan Zhangzong, who, without reason, wished to kill the Mongol khan Taizu, which led to war. [Likewise], the Wanli emperor wishes to kill me, and, his having sided with the Yehe, war has broken out between our two countries. (JMD: VI, 2605/MBRT: Taizong IV, 3.29)

Hong Taiji took the same approach in a letter written in 1629 to the Ming field marshal for Liaodong, Yuan Chonghuan, using much the same wording:

> From ancient times on, where are there no instances of rise and decline in your great country? The Under-Heaven is not one person's realm. The Under-Heaven belongs to all people. To whomsoever Heaven gives it, that person must take it. Of old, the Son of Heaven was of the Liao, and Taizu of the Jin was his subject. But then the Tianzuo khan of the Liao lost virtue [lit. *doro*, the way], and, for no other reason than that the peace-loving Taizu of the Jin would not dance for him, he sought to kill him. Thus wronged, Heaven gave the Liao lands in Liaodong to the Jin.... Truly, Heaven gave the rule of the Liao to the Jin.

This was followed by the additional examples of Chinggis Khan similarly supplanting the Jin khan Yongji and of Zhu Yuanzhang supplanting the Yuan khan Toghon Temür: "[Now], though we are without fault, it is the Wanli emperor saying he wishes to kill us. How is this different from what has happened before?... For two years now the letters and emissaries I have sent to the imperial city have been sent back without even getting through—this is an even greater outrage than that perpetrated by the Liao upon the Jin! But this is also Heaven's will" (MBRT: Taizong IV, 17.225–227).

One might well question the judgment of Qing rulers in continually invoking the precedent of northern dynasties in this way. The Liao and Jin in particular occupied an uncertain place in the procession of dynasties to rule in China, and neither was graced with a standard history (Ch. *zhengshi*) until the Yuan took power in the thirteenth century. Conceivably, claiming to be part of this line weakened the Manchu case to be worthy of Heaven's mandate in Chinese eyes and hurt their chances of being accepted as legitimate Sons of Heaven. After all, loyalist sentiment had motivated famous patriots like Yue Fei (d. 1141) to stand up to the Jin, so raising the precedent of the Jin might resurrect the specter of loyalist resistance to the new "barbarians." As Roger Des Forges observes, the analogy of previous accommodation with non-Han rule was ambiguous for the Chinese, as it furnished examples of resistance as well as of collaboration. The same was true for the Manchus. But in embracing this "barbarian" past as their own, the Manchu rulers showed a practical recognition that no matter what they did or said they would be perceived this way. By dealing as openly as possible with what amounted to Chinese ethnocentric prejudice against them, it appears, the Manchus hoped to turn the "outsider" card to their advantage. For in the end, the Jin, along with the Liao and the Yuan, had become recognized as dynasties in the orthodox imperial tradition. Whatever else one might say, they had evidently enjoyed Heaven's favor, proof that they possessed virtue. So why not the Qing?

Hong Taiji pursued this line expressly in communications stressing the point that one did not have to be from the central plain to become the Son of Heaven and that the Manchus' origins should not be held against them. In December 1629 he addressed a general proclamation to the Chinese holding out against the Manchus in Liaoxi. Sketching the history of Ming offenses against the Manchus, Hong Taiji observed: "Our country (Ma. *gurun*) is small. So why should you address me as emperor (Ma. *hūwangdi*)? Of old, [though] the Great Liao, the Jin, and the Great Yuan were all small nations, yet emperors arose there. Why were you made to stop calling them emperor? Besides, your Ming Zhu [Yuanzhang] Taizu was a monk. Heaven valued him and raised him and he became emperor. Is there a precedent that only those of one single surname can become emperor?"[17] Seven years later, writing to the Korean king, he returned to this theme in a slightly different way. Repeating the adage that the realm does not belong to any one person, the Manchu ruler underscored the point that he who possessed virtue would become the Son of Heaven and that, "hence, in olden times, [though] being barbarians [Ma. *jušen*] from the northeast, the Great Liao became Sons of Heaven; being barbarians from the east, the Jin took the realm from the Great Liao. They [also] subjugated the Song. The Great Yuan, being Mongols from the north, took the realm from the Jin. Hongwu of the Great Ming, while being a monk from the Huangjue temple, took the realm from the Great Yuan" (JMD: X, 4746–4747/MBRT: Taizong VI, 8.1005–1006). Hong Taiji's message here was plain: It did not matter where one was from or how low one's status was in society; if one had virtue and won Heaven's blessing, the conditions for winning the realm were met.

For this reason also, Hong Taiji added, places were forever changing hands: "Previously our two nations dwelt together in uneventful harmony. However, not satisfied with the lands of the nine provinces within your borders, and going beyond the old borders set during the time of Hongwu and Yongle, [you] stole our meager lands. By erecting inscribed stone markers every thirty *li* along the frontier, you turned Jurchen lands into Chinese lands, and so fighting broke out. Heaven saw this injustice—Liaodong was given [us] by Heaven" (MBRT: Taizong IV, 17.225). Here the unusual argument was being advanced that the Manchus were heir not only to the imperial tradition of the Jin, but also to former Jin territory. By the same logic, the Manchu territorial claim was extended south of the Great Wall as well: "Nanjing, Beijing, and Bianjing [Kaifeng] were not originally the lands of any one person. They are places that have been exchanged back and forth between Jurchens and Han" (JMD: II, 1127/MBRT: Taizu II, 41.602)—the last an obvious reference to the Jin occupation of Bianjing in 1127, which marked the demise of the Northern Song.

Indeed, with the situation in the northeast developing ominously, history was also very much on the minds of the Chinese, and relations between the Song and the Jin seem to have been a common point of reference for both sides (although, as Des Forges reports, the betrayal of Henan by Xu Dingguo in 1645 was lamented by the historian Zheng Lian in terms of a Tang precedent). Thus, in floating a proposal that the Ming pay a tribute to the Manchus, Hong Taiji sagely pointed out that, in their dealings with the Liao and the Jin, the Song in fact had agreed to such an arrangement.[18] And in rebuffing this, along with other feelers for peace, the Chinese—who had already made clear their attitude toward the twelfth-century Jin by desecrating the Jin imperial tombs near Beijing—justified their unwillingness to negotiate with the Manchus on the grounds that the agreements reached centuries before between the Jin and the Song had not, they said, been respected by the Jurchens (MBRT: Taizong IV, 26.345). Ironically, however, Shi Kefa would propose exactly this arrangement to Dorgon in 1644, when it was already too late (see the essay by Roger Des Forges in this volume).

The initial Ming response evidently got Hong Taiji thinking. In mid-1632, he invited three of his Han-Chinese advisors to a meal and asked them their opinions about whether he should again attempt negotiations with the Chinese court. In answering, two of the three referred to Song-Jin history. One advisor, Wang Wenkui, noted that "the Chinese have examined [their actions] in light of the example of the Song (Ma. *Sung gurun-i songko be buleku obufi*) and are refusing to deal with us as an entity." Since the Manchu side cannot unilaterally declare peace, he said, it may as well unilaterally declare war. In such a case, he predicted, "the central plain will be ours" (JMD: VIII, 3837–3838/MBRT: Taizong V, 58.833–834). Jiang Yun, another advisor, started off with an allusion to Agūda's seizure of Bianjing and the capture of the two Song emperors there:

> This was [possible] because the army was strong, an irresistible force that could destroy even bamboo. Nonetheless, it was not possible to sweep away the chaos and establish unity [across the realm]. That things reverted to negotiation was not [the result of] a lack of will or a lack of strength. Looking at the way things began, it was because the Jurchen people had not planned to unify [things] into one [whole]. [Recently], when the Chakhar [Mongols] heard that the khan's army was nearing Datong, they fled without even facing our soldiers. Taking the city of Datong was then as [easy as] turning over the palm of one's hand. More than killing and fighting with military power, it is better to proclaim [your] trustworthiness and benevolence by not having the khan's soldiers killing and attacking. This is precisely where a grand strategy (Ma. *amba arga*) for unification has been established. (JMD: VIII, 3839–3840/MBRT: Taizong V, 58.835–836)

This speech urged Hong Taiji to reflect upon the Jin precedent not as a positive, but as a negative example. The Jin had managed to take Bianjing, Jiang was saying, but they could have done more had they planned it better from the start. Since Hong Taiji had a plan, Jiang assured him, he would certainly exceed the Jin, and therefore he ought not place too much hope in negotiations with the Ming.

This advice points to an important difference between the application of historical lessons internally and their application in externally directed propaganda. When intended for domestic consumption, such allusions were restricted almost without exception to other northern dynasties, and they were used more critically.[19] The past here was also a tool, perhaps, but it was a jeweler's pick, not a hammer. The evaluation of historical precedents in communications with Koreans, Chinese, and nonfederation Mongols, because of the rhetorical function such precedents had to fulfill, could not be very objective (though it could be quite inventive). Raising precedents in discussions among themselves, in contrast, was not about persuasion, but about reflection: How do we compare with earlier dynasties? What is our goal? Where do we go from here? These musings show even more powerfully how self-conscious the Manchus were of their Inner Asian roots. They also show how this consciousness changed as the Manchus' imperial ambitions matured under Hong Taiji.

Jin as Edifying Example

As mentioned earlier, one of Nmhaci's great preoccupations was that the Manchus should be seen as the literal descendants of the Jin-era Jurchens. This was probably why he renamed his lineage (a branch of the Gioro *mukūn*) the Aisin, or "Golden," Gioro.[20] This was why, when he decided that the tribal confederation under him needed a name, he chose Jin or, for an interval, "Latter Jin" (Ma. Amaga Aisin gurun, Ch. Hou Jinguo),[21] later amended simply to "Jin." The earliest extant printed account of Nurhaci's reflections on Jin history invariably speaks of "the records of our *gurun*" (Ma. *menti gurun-i kooli*) and even refers to the first Jin emperor, Agūda, as "the man named Agūda of our Manchu country" (Ma. *meni manju gurun-i Agūda gebungge niyalma*"; MG 61626: 30, 34). Similarly, in the early Manchu chronicles, Nurhaci typically refers to any individual former Jin emperor as "our Jin emperor" (Ma. *meni Aisin han*), and on one occasion he speaks of "the ancestor Agūda of our former Jin *gurun*," as if to imply that he looked upon Agūda as a kind of progenitor (JMD: II, 683/MBRT: Taizu I, 22.334). But after becoming khan, and evidently wishing to avoid too close an identification with the earlier Jin state, Hong Taiji never employed this formulation, and on at least one occasion he stated explicitly in a message to the Chinese inhabitants of the coastal city of Dalinghe that the Manchus were different:

> [In 1629], when our troops went to Beijing, though I kept on sending letters asking for negotiations, the Chinese emperor and his officials, as usual, reflecting on the [example of] the Song emperor of former times, did not send me one word in response. The emperor of the Great Ming is not a relative of the Song emperor. Nor are we the relatives of the former Jin emperor. That was one time, this is another. Heaven's time and people's minds are entirely different. Why are there no wise men in your great country [who

> can see this]? In looking at the age and at its people, will it do to remain fixed in one's views like the glued-down bridge of a zither (*qin*), instead of adapting one's thinking?[22]

From this passage it is clear that Hong Taiji saw limits to the value of the Jin precedent. In his opinion, the Chinese would do well to realize, too, that, while the parallels with earlier history were striking, they were still only parallels. They mattered not so much for broad symbolic reasons, but for the lessons they could teach, and for this reason, parallels with the Liao and the Yuan were just as valuable as those with the Jurchen Jin. Thus, in response to the opinion of his ministers that archery was not so very important a skill, Hong Taiji reached back into Liao history for a story to illustrate that it was;[23] and, while he allowed comparison of himself with the second Jin emperor, Ukimai (Taizong), an equally apt comparison could have been made with the third Yuan emperor, Khubilai (Shizu).[24] Indeed, Hong Taiji's identification with Khubilai seems to have been particularly strong. This is not surprising, given Hong Taiji's ambitions as a "universal ruler" on the Mongol model. In 1635, announcing that a new temple was being built in Mukden to house a golden statue of the Mahākāla Buddha, he took care to point out that the idol had originally been cast from one thousand ounces of gold by 'Phags pa Lama in the days of Khubilai.[25]

Hong Taiji also recognized the importance of the Jin precedent. In 1629 he sent representatives to perform sacrifices before the spirit tablets of the Jin emperors Taizu and Shizong with the words

> I have always heard that your accomplishments were great and your virtue surpassing. No matter how long I thought about this, it always still seemed like a dream. Now our army has arrived in Liangxiang, and we have discovered the spirit tablets of you two khans. No matter how much one age may differ from another, it is indeed the case that the fame of truly righteous and virtuous persons is extended further when their praise is sung at the spring and autumn sacrifices![26]

Hong Taiji raised the Jin as a positive example again in 1638, when he said: "Of old, in the days when the khans of the three nations of the Great Liao, the Great Yuan, and the Jin were fighting, they got as far as India in the west, Korea in the east, the Amur [Sahaliyan Ula] in the north, and the sea in the south. These men, these horses are [capable of] the same."[27] Yet, despite such words of praise (the preceding description of the geographic extent of the Jin empire was oddly hyperbolic), most of the time Hong Taiji seemed preoccupied with the Jin as a cautionary example, rather than as a model to be emulated.

This repositioning can best be seen in a famous speech made in early 1637 to Qing princes and nobles assembled in the multistory Phoenix Hall pavilion of the Mukden palace. The occasion was the reading aloud of the official records of the reign of the fifth Jin emperor, Shizong, also known as Wanyan Wulu (the same ruler referred to in some of the passages cited above by his reign title "Dading khan"), "Listen well, all of you, to what this says," Hong Taiji addressed his audience. "The emperor Shizong was considered by the Chinese, the Mongols, and all peoples as having been a good khan. Thus the wise men of later generations have praised him by calling him a 'little Yao and Shun.' Ever since I had the record [of his reign] translated into Manchu and read [to me], my eyes and ears have become sharp, like the pricked-up ears of a horse who has seen a wild animal and wishes to dash away." Proceeding to explain what had happened to the Manchus' Jurchen predecessors once they had established their empire, Hong Taiji remarked that the "Old Way" practiced by Agūda (Jin Taizu, 1115–1122) and Ukimai (Jin Taizong, 1123–1134) had been forsaken, as Xizong and his successor, Hailing Wang (1135–1148 and 1149–1160) followed what he contemptuously called the "Chinese way" (Ma. *Nikan-i doro*) of liquor, leisure, and riding in sedan chairs. He then continued:

> After [rule] passed [from Hailing Wang] to Shizong Ulu Khan, he repeated over and over again, lest, as from the beginning it had previously been feared, children and grandchildren enter Chinese ways: "Do not neglect the old ways of the ancestors. Wear Jurchen clothing. Learn the Jurchen language. Practice archery and horsemanship every day." Although he had thus spoken, the khans of later generations entered the Chinese way, putting aside shooting and riding. By the time of Aizong [1224–1233], the [Jurchen] Way was destroyed. The dynasty had been wiped out. (JMD: X, 5293–5295/ MBRT: Taizong VII, 36.1339–1340)

With impressive perspicacity, Hong Taiji saw this aspect of the Jin experience as a powerful warning of the dangers that lay ahead for the Manchus. Having thus laid out the results of forgetting one's origins, Hong Taiji went on to defend his rejection of the proposals put forward by Dahai and Erdeni that the Manchus exchange their own clothing for wide-sleeved Chinese dress on the grounds that this would lessen martial preparedness and lead to eventual ruin.

Such an admonitory tone is entirely absent in Nurhaci's statements. True, he once remarked: "Of old, the Jin khan and the Mongol khan conquered three or four nations and unified them, dwelling as one, but [they] did not dwell as such for many years, generation after generation. This I have completely understood." But his point here (quite possibly disingenuous—he was writing to the Korean king) was that he was being forced into an adversarial position vis-à-vis the Ming and did not seek to emulate the Jin or Yuan, of whose failure, he claimed, he was all too well aware. Hong Taiji, too, was quite conscious of those failures, but his consciousness of the past—and his hunger to become ruler of the known world—led him in the contrary direction, to resolve to avoid repeating them. Therefore, in order to distance himself and his people from the Jurchens, in 1635 he forbade use of the old name Jurchen (in use up to that point) and proclaimed "Manchu" in its place. A few months later he emphasized this break by changing the dynastic name from "Jin" to "Qing."[28] But this did not mean that the past could simply be forgotten or ignored. In October 1636, in an argument with a Ming general surnamed Cen, Hong Taiji reminded him sharply: "You must know, general, that the Great Liao, the Jin, and the Great Yuan ruled successively over China in the past. If you don't know this, you should read the histories of those three nations" (JMD: X, 5109/MBRT: Taizong VII, 28.1300). Hong Taiji obviously already knew this, having taken the trouble to order his best scholars to translate those histories into Manchu—and Mongol—so that everyone else in the Qing state could read them as he had.

Manchu Translations of the Liao, Jin, and Yuan Dynastic Histories

The adaptation of the Mongol writing system, ordered by Nurhaci in 1599, meant that in the early seventeenth century for the first time it was possible to do written translations from Chinese (and other languages) into Manchu. But the generally violent tenor of those years meant that, in fact, relatively little translation was done, as the list of translations accomplished before 1644 is quite short. Among the first ones, begun in the early 1620s, were the Ming penal code (*Xingbu huidian*), the *Mengzi*, works on military science (such as the *Sushu*, the *Sanlüe*, and the *Liutao*), a short Ming-era encyclopedia titled *Wanbao quanshu*, and the *Sanguo zhi yanyi*. Later, portions of the *Daxue*, unknown sections of the Buddhist canon, and the *Gangjian huizuan* (a condensed version of Zhu Xi's *Zizhi tongjian gangmu*) also were begun.[29] As can be seen, the majority of these texts were translated for their perceived practical utility; all were translated at the pleasure of the khan. This work was done more systematically from 1629 onward by a very small cadre of talented men, led by the scholar Dahai, in the so-called Literary Institute (Ma. Bithei yamun, Ch. Wenguan).[30]

In 1636, as part of a general expansion of the Qing bureaucracy, the Three Palace Academies (Ma. Bithei ilan yamun, Ch. Nei sanyuan) were created, one of which was a refurbishment of the Literary Institute, now under a new name, the Palace Academy for the Advancement of Literature (Ma. Kooli selgiyere yamun, lit. "office for promulgating precedents"; Ch. Hongwenguan).[31] One of the leading figures in the Academy at this time was Hife, and it was he who became the chief translator of the Liao, Jin, and Yuan histories.[32] It seems that Hife received the charge to translate these histories in 1635. According to the Chinese-language *shilu* (veritable records), Hong Taiji summoned Hife and his associates in May of that year and spoke as follows:

> Looking at historical works written in Chinese, I have found that a great many of them are full of decorative language. There would be no point in reading all of them. Now it would be appropriate to select from within the four histories of the Liao, Song, Jin, and Yuan [sections] concerning important political figures—those who strove to rule diligently and under whom the nation flourished; those whose reckless rule led to [its] downfall; military geniuses, gifted at using men and employing soldiers and armies; as well as loyal counselors, and the wicked and crafty who wronged the nation—and, for the purpose of reference and reflection, to translate them in writing.[33]

According to the preface (which is the same in all three histories), work on the translation did not begin until more than a year later, in the 5th month of the 1st year of Chongde, that is, June of 1636 (DLGS: 1.3a). This was probably because the scholars who had been working in the old Literary Institute were still busy compiling the official records of Nurhaci's reign, the *Wu huangdi shilu* (presented to Hong Taiji in December, 1636; Qing *shilu*: Taizong, 32.9a–12b). But, by late 1636, when Hong Taiji addressed himself to the rest of the Qing leadership, parts of the *Jinshi* already had been translated.

The entire project—minus the *Songshi*, which was dropped at an unspecified point—seems to have been finished by July 1639 and was officially offered to Hong Taiji for inspection at that time. Which Chinese editions they worked from or where they were obtained from is impossible to say.[34] The translations were presented anew by Hife to Hong Taiji's successor Fulin, the Shunzhi emperor, in March of 1644, just three months before Qing forces occupied Beijing. The revised versions shown to the Shunzhi emperor[35]—who was only four at the time and certainly could not yet read—evidently met with the approval of the regents for the throne.[36] Hife and his associates were rewarded with horses and silver (Qing *shilu*: Shizu, 3.23b–24a), and a decree was issued that three hundred sets of the three histories should be printed and distributed.[37] The blocks were ready by May 21, 1646. By early 1647, a Mongol translation of the Liao, Jin, and Yuan histories was also completed (Qing *shilu*: Shizu, 30, cited in Kanda 1995: 279).

The common preface to the printed Manchu editions, consisting of the memorial submitted in March of 1644 and the edict commanding their publication, explained the background of and reasons for the translations:

> When one reads the precedents and histories of bygone times, [the causes for] successes and failures are rather secret, [and the reasons behind] peaceful times and troubled times quite hidden. Except for the sage, no one knows them. Thus is it said that, as the successful and unsuccessful points of the rule of emperors are all written down by men of letters, one ought to reflect fearfully on the present and fearfully leave a model for the future. Since ancient times, the principles by which the emperors and princes have ruled have not been lost. They have remained, transmitted for many thousands of years to this age in historical writings. No matter that an order (Ma. *doro*) may have ended; it is right to raise [its example] and speak of it to the [present] generation. No matter that [those] people lived a long time ago; it is right to compare [them] to [the people of] today. Thus it is said that the good is my teacher and the bad is my teacher. Looking one after another at the emperors from ancient times onward, all have done things this way.

The preface continued with an explicit reminder that the precedents for what the Qing itself hoped to accomplish lay in the achievements of the Khitans, Jurchens, and Mongols. Of these, as Hife was at pains to point out, only the Mongols had been completely successful:

> Though the Great Liao and the Jin were unable to unify the Under-Heaven, still, the Great Liao took half of the Under-Heaven, and the Jin took more than half of the Under-Heaven. The Great Yuan unified the Under-Heaven. It is proper to examine their rules, laws, and precedents. Hence the late emperor, who indeed liked to reflect on the past and took it to heart, commanded us specially, saying: "Translate the histories of these three dynasties (Ma. *gurun*), the Great Liao, the Jin, and the Great Yuan, into Manchu. Get rid of anything not useful in them, and include all such things as what they succeeded at, what they failed at, the battles they fought, and the hunts they went on."[38]

Respecting Hong Taiji's original opinion of the histories as containing too much dross, Hife explained that he and his staff had sifted through the records of the reigns of the fourteen Liao emperors (including those of the Western Liao), the nine Jin emperors, and the fourteen Yuan emperors for items of importance. The Manchu translations therefore are not complete versions of the Liao, Jin, and Yuan histories. Rather, they amount to little more than abridged translations of the imperial annals (Ch. *benji*) in those histories, supplemented by selective borrowing from the biographies of officials (Ch. *liezhuan*)—along with a few additional sections, discussed below.[39]

Table 1. Correspondence of the Manchu-text *Liaoshi* with the Chinese original

	Dailiyoo gurun-i suduri		Based on *Liaoshi*	
Biography of	*Debtelin* no.	No. of pages	*Juan* nos.	*Benji* nos.
Preface + Taizu (Abaoji)	1	4 + 36	1–2	1–2
Taizong	2	35	3–4	3–4
Shizong, Muzong	3	23	5–7	5–7
Jingzong	4	13	8–9	8–9
Shengzong	5	44	10–17	10–17
Xingzong	6	24	18–20	18–20
Daozong	7	45	21–26	21–26
Tianzuo	7,8*	24	27–30	27–30
Total: 8 *debtelin*, 248 pages				

* The biography of the Tianzuo emperor begins on p. 21a of fasc. 7. Fasc. 8 also contains additional translations from *juan* 25, 26, 27, 28, 34, 35, 36, and 116 of *Liaoshi*.

The basic correspondence between the contents of the translations and the original histories is shown in Tables 1 to 3. Although Hife claimed that the biographies of the Western Liao emperors (of whom there were five) were consulted, they were not included in the finished translation, which was limited to the nine Liao emperors up to Tianzuo (captured by the Jin in 1125). Inasmuch as the translations reflected the political ambitions of the early Qing state, it was the models of prior rule in China by northern peoples that mattered. It is also worth noting that, while many Chinese-language historical works were translated into Manchu later in the Qing, no further translations were ever made of other dynastic histories. This may have been because of rising literacy in Chinese among the Manchus—although the trend does not seem to have prevented the seventeenth-century Qing court from proceeding with the translation of a number of other Chinese philosophical and historical works.[40] Perhaps those models in themselves were sufficient for the Manchus, and for the same reason the three dynasties were only evaluated comparatively with one another, not with other dynasties. Whereas the Liao and Jin only managed to conquer half of the realm, the Yuan successfully unified the "Under-Heaven" under its rule. It is not surprising that Hong Taiji preferred to identify himself with Khubilai.

Table 2. Correspondence of the Manchu-text *Jinshi* with the Chinese original

	Aisin gurun-i suduri		Based on *Jinshi*	
Biography of	*Debtelin* no.	No. of pages	*Juan* nos.	*Benji* nos.
Preface + Taizu (Agūda)	1	4 + 59	1–2	1–2
Taizong	2	25	3	3
Xizong, Hailing Wang	3	40	4–5	4–5
Shizong(to 1178)	4	53	6–7	6–7
Shizong (from 1178)	5	47	7–8	7–8
Zhangzong	6	43	9–12	9–12
Weishao Wang, Xuanzong (to 1215)	7	39	13–14	13–14
Xuanzong (from 1215)	8	40	14–16	14–16
Aizong	9*	48	17–18	17–18
Total: 9 *debtelin*, 398 pages				

* Also contains additional information.

Table 3. Correspondence of the Manchu-text *Yuanshi* with the Chinese original

	Daiyuwan gurun-i suduri		Based on *Yuanshi*	
Biography of	*Debtelin* no.	No. of pages	*Juan* nos.	*Benji* nos.
Preface + Taizu (Chinggis)	1	4 + 73	1	1
Taizong (Ögedei), Xianzong	2	53	2–3	2–3
Shizu (Khubilai) (to 1266)	3	46	4–6	4–6
Shizu (1266–1275)	4	35	6–8	6–8
Shizu (1275–1278)	5	49	8–10	8–10
Shizu (1279–1294)	6	53	10–17	10–17
Chengzong	7	29	18–22	18–22
Wuzong	8	17	22–23	22–23
Renzong	9	31	24–26	24–26
Yingzong, Taidingdi, Mingzong	10	60	27–31	27–31
Wenzong, Ningzong	11	33	31–37	31–37
Shundi (to 1342)	12	51	38–42	38–42
Shundi (1343–1349)	13	40	42–45	42–45
Shundi (1350–1368)	14	49	45–47	45–47
Total: 14 *debtelin*, 623 pages				

In reading the actual texts, hopes of finding radical differences with the Chinese originals are soon disappointed. By and large, the Manchu translations provide a faithful, if abbreviated, account of the reign of each ruler. Here, for instance, is a passage on the rebel Zhangnu, from the Chinese biography of Tianzuo, the last Liao emperor:

> On the day *yisi* [of the 9th month in the 5th year of Tianqing], Yelü Zhangnu rebelled and hastened to the Supreme Capital. He planned to welcome and set up the Prince of Wei, Chun, as emperor. . . . Zhangnu, on realizing that the Prince of Wei was not acquiescent, led his followers to plunder the prefectures of Qing, Rao, Huai, and Zu, and also joined up with the many Bohai bandits, so that the forces amounted to several tens of thousands in number. They rushed to Guangpingdian and attacked the imperial traveling camp. But Ahuchuan of the Obedient Nüzhi with three hundred horsemen was victorious in a single battle. He captured more than two hundred people of [Zhangnu's] noble families, cut off their heads, and displayed them publicly. Their wives and sons were punished by forced labor in the Embroidery Workhouse or by distribution as slaves among the personal attendants of the emperor. Of the rest, those who were able to escape all fled to the Nüzhi. Zhangnu tried to flee to the Nüzhi by posing as a messenger, but he was arrested by a patrol and sent in fetters to the emperor's residence. He was cut in two at the waist in the market-place. His heart was cut out and offered up at the ancestral temples. He was dismembered and displayed on the five routes.[41]

The same section in Manchu reads:

> Having rebelled, the official Yelui Jangnu took over three hundred men and, saying he wished to make the Prince of Wei, Yelui Siyūn, emperor [Ma. *han*], he returned to the Supreme Capital. . . . Later, when Jangnu learned that the Prince of Wei would not go along, he took the troops under him and pillaged the four districts of Cing jeo [Qingzhou], Zao jeo [Raozhou], Hūwai jeo [Huaizhou], and Dzu jeo [Zuzhou]. Also, joining with the many bandits of the Bohai country, he led several tens of thousands to Guwang ping diyan [Guangpingdian] and attacked the emperor. At this, Agusan, an official of the submissive Jurchens, took three hundred cavalry and defeated them in battle. More than two hundred people of Jangnu's own lineage were killed, and his sons and wives were sent to do sewing and other work in the emperor's court. The rest were given as slaves to the emperor's messengers, and any who remained fled to the Jurchens. Yelui Jangnu disguised himself as an imperial emissary going to the Jurchen country, but the people at the guard post caught him and sent him to the emperor, after which the emperor had him taken into the street and killed. His heart was cut out and displayed at the ancestral temple, and his arms and legs were chopped to bits. (DLGS: 7.33b–35a)

Here, as almost everywhere else in the translations, specific dates are omitted, together with what were considered to be unnecessary "details." This was a version intended for general edification, not for scholarly research.

Despite their fundamental similarity, the original and its translation in a number of respects are quite distinct. One obvious difference is that of packaging. The translators did not respect the original chapter divisions and fell at liberty to divide the Manchu accounts differently. This is most noticeable in longer biographies, such as those of Jin Shizong, Yuan Shizu, and Yuan Shundi. Shorter accounts could also be combined into one fascicle, as with the biographies of Yuan Yingzong, Emperor Taiding, and Mingzong (in fasc. 10), and Wenzong and Ningzong (in fasc. 11). In these cases, pagination within the fascicle is usually done separately for each figure (the biography of the Liao emperor Tianzuo, which continues the pagination from the account of his predecessor, is an exception). Another difference, already noted, is that in translating—one might better say rendering—the biographies into Manchu, the translators (often using the "historical present" tense in Manchu) freely borrowed additional information from elsewhere in the original text, most commonly from accounts of individual officials in the biographical sections of the histories.[42]

Perhaps the most arresting feature of the translations, which reveals the most about what lessons the Qing hoped to learn from history, is the inclusion of what amount to original, specially compiled short appendices to the biographies in the last fascicles of both the *Dailiyoo gurun-i suduri* and *Aisin gurun-i suduri* (no such appendix is found, however, at the end of the *Daiyuwan gurun-i suduri*—only one sentence noting the length of Yuan rule). At the conclusion of the biography of the Tianzuo emperor, in fascicle 8 of the translated *Liaoshi*, is a short statement, which does not appear in the original history: "The nine khans of the Great Liao ruled [Ma. *tehe*, lit. "sat"] for 219 years. The five khans of the Western Liao ruled for 88 years. Together, the fourteen khans of the Great Liao and the Western Liao [ruled for] 307 years" (DLGS: 7.24b). This statement is followed by approximately eleven pages of miscellaneous additional information about the Liao drawn from different parts of the *Liaoshi*. Included are the rules for appointment of officials (25a–b/LS: III [j. 45]); the geographic extent of the Liao empire ("It is ten thousand *li*: east as far as the ocean, west as far as the Yin Mountains, north as far as the Lugu River, south as far as Begu");[43] the male population (Ma. *alban-i haha*) of the capitals (1,107,300)[44] and the names of fifty-nine subordinate peoples (26a–b/LS II [j. 36]); a list of other outlying tribes (Ma. *aiman*) in the north and south (27a–28a/LS II [j. 34, 35]); the location of the five Liao capitals (28b);[45] and a longish essay on the Liao military (28b–35a/LS II [j. 34]), in which the organization of the Khitan army is described in some detail:

> People over the age of fifteen up to fifty are all entered into military registers. For every cavalryman there are three horses, and each soldier has one man [servant] to cut fodder and assist him on campaign. Each wears armor. Individual households provide saddles, *tohoma*, and armor for horses, depending on their means. Also, each is responsible for providing four bows, four hundred metal-tipped arrows, long and short spears, a mace, battle-ax, hammer, awl, flint. . . .[46]

There follows a careful description of the steps in organizing a military campaign. The reader learns that, in preparation for battle, the khan led the army in the sacrifice of a black ox[47] and a white horse to the spirits (Ma. *enduri*) of the sky, earth, and sun, but not the moon, which was not sacrificed to. Trusted officials were also sent to perform sacrifices at the temple of Taizu and all the tombs, and to the spirit of Mt. Muye.[48] The text then outlines the Liao system of organizing military forces:

> When a command [ordering mobilization] arrives, the soldiers are gathered, and, their household means being examined, registers are surveyed. Then they wait [Officers] from *syjiyang* (Ch. *shijiang*)[49] on up inspect the soldiers' weapons in turn. After the [other] half of the golden tally arrives, each [officer] sets out leading [the troops] of which he is head. He does not entrust them to any emissary who may come. Once he has inspected the troops together with the military chief (Ma. *coohai ejen*, Ch. *junzhu*), emissaries may only report to the khan. Taking into consideration the relative number of troops, the khan also sends out other officials, who, together with the military chief, supervise [matters]. The military chief also receives a five-colored flag and a drum from the khan. Afterward, the khan personally examines the generals and also the meritorious officials and appoints one [from among them] as commander in chief, one as vice commander in chief, and one as military director in chief to take over general command of the troops. In addition, from among all the soldiers, 30,000 crack troops are selected to be the guard, the soldiers who protect the emperor; another 3,000 heroic men are chosen to be the vanguard, and another hundred or so of the toughest men are picked and sent ahead to man the scout camps.

Further specifics follow on the lines of attack taken against the Song, the methods for assaulting cities, techniques for wearing out the enemy, strategies for advancing against arrayed troops, and the importance of patrols and scouts. The essential secrets of Liao success, which, interestingly, resemble in many points those of guerrilla warfare, are saved for the end:

> When it comes time for the troops to move, after the drum is beaten three *times*, all the soldiers move at once, regardless of whether it is night or day. Before meeting a great enemy, the armored horses [i.e., the horses used in battle] are not ridden. Only once the enemy has drawn nearer are they ridden. If the enemy's formation is complete, there is no attack; pursue only when they return [to their camp]. Lying often in ambush and cutting off the enemy's supply lines; setting fires throughout the night; with the direction of the wind, tying branches to horses' tails to encumber [the enemy];[50] packing dried food to eat while on the move; having the soldiers regroup once they are split up; being strong on the attack and impervious to cold—these [tactics] are why [the Liao] army is so powerful. (DLGS: 8.28b–35a)

This was practical advice on making war that well suited the Manchus' particular needs and their fighting style. Like the Liao, their strength lay in their horsemanship. Also like the Liao, they were frequently outnumbered by the enemy and relied on superior speed and organization in order to win.

These extra selections seem to suggest that, in privately looking to these precedents, the Qing were most concerned with the distinctive practices and strategies that made their predecessors from the steppe militarily strong and enabled them to maintain rule over China. Some of this information could be obtained from the biographies of individual rulers. Useful information was also culled from other parts of the *Histories*, but its exact source in the original was never noted. It is hard to know how much of this information was new to the Manchus in the early 1640s, after almost a half century of warfare. But they may have taken at least one leaf from the Liao book, which was the tactic of tying branches to the tails of their horses "to encumber the enemy." This practice does not seem to make much sense until one reads the full explanation: "When instructed, the troops who gathered grass and food would tie two straw brooms to their horses' tails and, advancing with the wind, ride up and down, raising dust up into enemy lines. Already hungry and weakened, the enemy could no longer open his eyes and would thus be defeated" (DLGS: 8.33b). The day in May 1644 when the Qing army began the formal invasion of China, the enemy forces of Li Zicheng were blinded by dust in just this fashion and went down to defeat (Wakeman 1985: I, 315). One would like to know: was it a storm or hundreds of horse-tail brooms that raised the dust?

The very last page of the *Liaoshi* translation offers an unexpected surprise: a selection of about twenty Khitan words and phrases together with their Manchu equivalents. The items appear to have been chosen entirely at random: *aju sali*, "father, ancestor" (Ma. *ama mafa*); *booli*, "scoundrel, wicked person" (Ma. *ehe niyalma*); *sai i el še*, "it's a nice day" (Ma. *sain inenggi*); *asy*, "really big" (Ma. *yargiyan-i amba*), and so forth.[51] No further explanation is offered on the nature of the language.

The translation of the *Jinshi* also concludes with a brief, five-page appendix. Though it does not include anything on the Jurchen language, an abridged translation of the chapters on Jin administrative geography is presented (44a–45b/JS: II [j. 24–26]), along with a condensed version of the chapter on Jin military organization (45b–48b/JS: II [j. 44]). Here could be found such useful information as the outlines of the *meng-an mou-ke* system and the means of integrating non-Jurchens into the organization, the formation of guard units and the order of military command, the size of the Jurchen herds, and the contests for encouraging excellence in archery. The appendix concludes with a brief passage on the means of using salaries to support soldiers:

> In the third year called *tiyan-juwan* of the Xizong emperor [1140], ten million cash was dispensed annually to the soldiers stationed in Liaodong. If there was not enough money in the public coffers, it was taken from officials and [ordinary] people. The giving of salaries [Ma. *ciyanliyang*] to the troops began from this. Afterward, [a system of] rewards was established. For soldiers, depending on length of service, more [was given] to those who had served a long time and less to recent recruits. Archery continued to be tested, with four taels awarded to first-class men and ten taels each to the most outstanding of all. To the troops guarding the frontiers was given a monthly salary of silver, grain, silk, and cotton. Depending on the remoteness of the post and the difficulty [of its conditions], more was awarded to soldiers at distant, demanding locations and less to soldiers at nearby, less difficult posts.[52]

This reference may have proven worthwhile when the Qing decided to institute a salary system for the support of Eight Banner soldiers soon after the conquest.

The insinuation of the past into Manchu consciousness is readily apparent from the records that have survived from the period. As the foregoing discussion has shown, references to people and events from the Liao, Jin, and Yuan eras pepper their discussions with friends and foes alike and crop up frequently in their own in-house deliberations. By the 1630s, so important had reflecting on the past become that Hong Taiji decided to have the histories of those dynasties translated and to have copies given to everyone in the leadership, from princes down to colonels.[53] Yet, however important the Liao, Jin, and Yuan histories were to reinforcing Manchu historical consciousness, it would be wrong to assume that everything the Manchus knew about the Khitans, Jurchens, and Mongols they learned from these sources. As demonstrated in the first part of this essay, well before the translations were made, stories about those peoples were already circulating. Accounts of earlier periods were transmitted among the Mongols from the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries, as we know from texts such as Sagang Secen's *Erdeni-yin tobci* and the "Jewel Translucent Sutra" discussed in Johan Elverskog's contribution to this volume. That this was the case among the Manchus, too, is suggested by the relation of stories concerning figures from the Liao, Jin, and Yuan in the early Manchu archives that are either not preserved or only partially preserved in the standard histories.

The larger significance of the translation of the *Liaoshi, Jinshi*, and *Yuanshi* into Manchu, therefore, is not so much that it introduced new information about a hitherto unknown past, though it no doubt did achieve this. Rather, the project seems most significant because it represented an attempt to integrate the histories of those quasi-orthodox dynasties with the Manchus' own history. Writing—or more accurately, rewriting—those accounts in the Manchu language was one way of saying that the beginnings of the Manchu imperial enterprise lay in the Liao, Jin, and Yuan periods. (As already noted, though guilt by association was a possible result of the deliberate Manchu identification with the Jin and other "invaders," this did not seem to trouble the Manchus unduly.) It was also a way of saying that history—written history—mattered. For at the same time as the translations were being made, the Manchus were becoming more aware of the importance of recording their own history. As noted, the mid-1630s saw the compilation of the first history of Nurhaci's career, along with the first chronicle of Manchu origins (see Matsumura 1988 and 1997). This new preoccupation with the written word was without question the result of Chinese influence, and it would not be out of place to see it as an example of "sinicization," though one might prefer to think of it instead as "civilization," *wenhua*.[54] In fact, the Manchu translations of the three histories can be said to have inaugurated a new beginning in the historiography of the Liao, Jin, and Yuan periods. Later in the seventeenth century, evidential scholars began to take a closer look at earlier periods of non-Han rule. This led to the discovery of new sources and ultimately to a reshaping of the perceptions and awareness of the general structure of Chinese history, in particular its "barbarian interludes," a subject that is beyond the scope of the present essay.

Conclusion: Historical Process and the Right to Rule

One of the problems raised in this volume is the difficulty of characterizing an age such as the Ming-Qing transition and, specifically, the degree to which to include in any such characterization the sensibilities of the people who lived during that age. Is this approach not useful in trying to comb out the temporal positions of contemporaneous actors? Does it not enable us to better negotiate the enormous span of time that separates the modern historian from the middle seventeenth century? From the evidence presented in this essay, the answers to both these questions would appear to be yes. Furthermore, the most recent narratives of the rise of the Manchu state to dominance over most of East Asia, stressing the steppe heritage of the Qing empire, seem largely to accord with the views held by Manchu leaders at the time.

Nurhaci and Hong Taiji were quite conscious of their own epoch-making historicity and habitually framed their enterprise in a long continuum that carried special reference to earlier regimes that had also emerged from the northern frontier. From early in the process of building a regime to rival the Ming for control of China, they and the rest of the Manchu elite (we cannot claim to know what was in the popular mind) demonstrated an acute awareness that what they were attempting had been tried before by other northern peoples. Nurhaci and Hong Taiji made concerted efforts to portray the growth of their political power as a "natural" development that had ample historical precedent as well as the blessing of Heaven. The existence of a prior historical record—available to them in oral as well as written forms—meant that Manchu leaders could refer to the policies and techniques of earlier states to guide their own decision-making in the hope of avoiding the same mistakes and achieving greater success. This record could also be used in diplomacy with various outside parties (Koreans, Chinese, Mongols) to persuade others to cooperate with the Qing as others had cooperated before with the Liao, Jin, and Yuan. All in all, history was a powerful tool in the building of the early Qing state.

Of course, the track record of earlier northern dynasties was in many ways discouraging—either (like the Liao and Jin) they had managed to extend their rule over only part of China and had (in the case of the Jin) lost their distinctiveness, or (like the Yuan) they had not managed to establish a stable system of rule before collapsing. These examples surely gave the Manchus pause. Nurhaci in particular seems to have been undecided as to whether it was worth the risk to try to conquer China. Hong Taiji once cited his father's fears on this score: "After we took Guangning [in 1622], all the princes and military advisors were saying we should enter Shanhai Pass [see Map 1]. To this my father-khan answered, 'Of old, the Great Liao, Great Jin, and Great Yuan ceased to dwell in their own lands and went to dwell among the Chinese. As their ways [Ma. *doro*] changed, all of them became Chinese. Let us live on the other side of Shanhai Pass, in our own Liao-dong, with each, the Chinese and the Jurchen, dwelling in his own country' " (JMD: VI, 2605–2606/MBRT: Taizong IV, 3.29–30). Both men, it seems, shared an undeniable consciousness that, whatever might happen, a historical moment—*another* historical moment, they might have said—had arrived and that Heaven's (ineluctable) Time (Ma. *abkai erin*), which brought down the mighty and raised the weak, now seemed to favor them.

But the two leaders' views of history were hardly the same. For Nurhaci, time was cyclically deterministic; it was the dimension in which Heaven manifested its Will to promote the strong and virtuous and remove the feeble and debased. For Hong Taiji, time was a learning medium in which human agency decidedly figured: we can know the choices made by others in analogous situations in the past and make wiser choices in the present. Thus, while Nurhaci was ambivalent about taking over China, Hong Taiji was more bullish on the Manchus' prospects: there can be no question that he was simply waiting for the right opportunity to burst through Shanhai Pass.

That said, the early Manchus' embrace of Liao, Jin, and Yuan precedents provides an outstanding example of the importance of traditionary elements in building a strong Inner Asian state, and it shows the extent to which historical consciousness, the medium by which "traditionary" values were transmitted, was not merely window dressing but assumed real political significance.[55] The previous achievements of Abaoji, Agūda, Chinggis, and Khubilai stood as examples of the possibilities the future held and encouraged an aggressive approach toward the Chinese as well as the Koreans and Mongols. At the same time, the failures of Tianzuo, Wanyang Liang, and Toghon Temür warned of the perils that also lay ahead in the long term.

Yet the Manchus embraced more than just the Liao, Jin, and Yuan pasts. The precedents they invoked—in conversations with themselves as with outsiders—included many examples from Chinese history as well. Famous figures from antiquity (Yao, Shun), the Zhou, Qin, and Han (King Zhou, the First Emperor of Qin, Liu Bang), the Sui (Emperor Yang), the Song (Huizong), as well as the Ming (the Hongwu and Wanli emperors) featured prominently in the Manchus' historical vocabulary. The Manchus thus cleared for themselves a place in history that went beyond an exclusive identification with other northern dynasties to include the broader ruling tradition that dominated in East Asia, of which Nurhaci and Hong Taiji were self-consciously seeking to partake. To do so required them to learn and employ the political language proper to the "Under-Heaven," that is, the language of benevolent governance, and to argue in terms of analogies and precedents that could prepare the ground for a new man of virtue to claim Heaven's mandate. These moves suggest that the Manchu elite began thinking of the future in ambitious terms no later than 1619, with the first major military victory over the Ming at Sarhū and the extension of control into territory that had been directly administered by the Chinese. This in turn suggests that as the Latter Jin state was spatially reconfigured, it entered a phase of temporal reconfiguration as well, positioning itself squarely within the historical mainstream.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that, in marked contrast to contemporaneous Chinese consciousness of the moment as outlined by Roger Des Forges, the Tang is curiously absent from early Manchu historical consciousness. The reasons for this are not entirely clear. It is surely not because Nurhaci and Hong Taiji were ignorant of the Tang (as mentioned, the *Gangjian huizuan*, a broad survey of history up to the Song, was one of the first books translated into Manchu). One reason might be that the Tang furnished no outstanding examples of miscreant rulers. For, as this essay has shown, the tendency in the early 1600s was to rely on the Chinese past for negative examples to illustrate the point that simply being Han Chinese was no guarantee of virtue. Inner Asian history, as part of the Manchus' own past, furnished positive as well as negative examples and was perceived as a more relevant guide to action. The major exception to this pattern was the unabashed Manchu admiration for the Ming founder, Zhu Yuanzhang, whose military exploits clearly commanded great respect and whose unification of the Chinese provinces in the mid-fourteenth century was the closest model for what the Manchus hoped to accomplish themselves. The preface to the Manchu translation of Zhu's "Sacred Instructions" (Shengyu) makes it clear that Hong Taiji saw Zhu as someone who "had a profound understanding of the difficulty of making a beginning and clearly understood the nature of the world."[56]

In actively promoting Zhu's exploits as worthy of study and emulation, the Manchus showed the broadening of their historical perspective and their emergence from provinciality to catholicity. Though averse to abandoning their roots in Inner Asia, they saw that creatively combining that past with Chinese historical discourse was essential to realizing their ambition to rule the world.

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Notes

1. This legacy is still evident today, as seen in the persistent practice in Taiwan of dating things according to the "*n*th year of the Republic of China" and in the continued use of reign titles in Japan (where 2002 is the "14th year of Heisei").

2. Though the Manchus only became "Manchus" after 1635, I will use "Manchu" uniformly to refer to the early-seventeenth-century Jurchens. I adopt this admittedly

anachronistic shorthand in order to minimize possible confusion with the Jurchens of the twelfth-century Jin dynasty.

3. Of these, only Chongde and Shunzhi were reign titles in the orthodox sense. That is, Chongde (Ma. Wesihun erdemungge, lit. acclaimed virtue) and Shunzhi (Ma. Ijishun dasan, lit. submissive rule) were used at the time in noting the year. Before 1636, internal dating was done differently in Manchu than in Chinese. Tianming (lit. heavenly mandate) was used in Chinese-language documents, but its Manchu equivalent, Abkai fulingga (lit. blessed by Heaven) was not; instead, years were counted simply as the "*n*th year of the 'Bright Khan' [Ma. Genggiyen han]." The first year of Tianming was 1616, but the first instance in which it is actually used is in 1619, suggesting that this name was invented after 1616 though no later than 1619 (Yan 1983: 158). Similarly, while Tiancong (heavenly wisdom) was used in Chinese between 1626 and 1635, in Manchu the years were kept not according to the year of Abkai sure (the Manchu translation of Tiancong), but according to the year of the "Wise Khan" (Ma. Sure han). Because the use of the Manchu equivalents (i.e., Abkai fulingga and Abkai sure) for dating these periods was applied only retroactively, Tianming and Tiancong are not quite reign titles.

4. Customarily dated to 1616, the dynastic name Jin, like the era name Tianming, does not appear to have been used until 1619. It seems likely here, too, that its origins were later projected back to coincide with Nurhaci's declaring himself "Bright Khan" in that year (formerly he had been known as Kundulen han, "Respected Khan") (Yan 1983: 158–159). Indications in the Taebaeksan version of the *Yijo sillok* that "Jin" was used even before 1616 are unconfirmed in the other versions of this source and may represent later interpolations.

5. See, inter alia, Lattimore 1940, Numata et al. 1944, and Wittfogel and Feng 1949. A comprehensive treatment of this issue, though with only occasional reference to the Qing, can be found in the introduction to the *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 6 (Franke and Twitchett 1994).

6. The sources I have consulted include the *Manbun rōtō* (MBRT) and the *Kyū Manshū tō* (KMTTK) (both in transcription), *the Jiu Manzhou dang* (JMD) (in facsimile), and the *Gurun-i suduri yamun dangse* (GSYD) (on microfilm).

7. JMD: I, 424–425. Dading was the reign title of the Jin emperor Shizong (r. 1161–1189). The same passage is found in MBRT: Taizu I, 9.143. Cases such as these are indicated hereafter with a slash mark. In cases where there is no corresponding entry in the JMD, only the entry for MBRT is given.

8. JMD: II, 714–715/MBRT: Taizu I, 24.351–352; JMD: II, 810–811/MBRT: Taizu I, 28.409–410; JMD: II, 883–884/MBRT: Taizu I, 31.451.

9. JMD: II, 622–624/MBRT: Taizu I, 19.291–292. Zhang was executed immediately after concluding his noble speech. Song Huizong (r. 1100–1126) and his son Qinzong (r. 1126–1127) both were captured when the Jin took Kaifeng in 1127. They were demoted to commoner status and forcibly removed to Manchuria, where they were held captive until their deaths in 1135 and 1156, respectively.

10. JMD: 4, 1868/MBRT: Taizu III, 64.963. The biography of Hu Jingde (Weichi Jingde) is found in *Jiu Tangshu*; see JTS: VIII, 2495–2500 (j. 68). Another instance of examples being drawn from Chinese history is found in a 1629 letter to a group of Ming officials, urging them to be statesmen like Zhang Liang, Chen Ping, Zhuge Liang, and Zhou Yu. See MBRT: Taizong IV, 17.229.

11. JMD: V, 2077–2078/MBRT: Taizu III, 71.1072–1073. Liu Zheng's submission to the Yuan is recorded in the *Yuanshi* in the official aunals of Khubilai (YS: I, 71 [j. 4]; a more detailed biography is in YS: IX [j. 48]).

12. JMD: I, 538–539/MBRT: Taizu I, 15.231–233. This basic story is found in the *Liaoshi*; see LS: I, 326 (j. 27). See also Twitchett and Tietze 1994: 140–141.

13. JMD: I, 540–541/MBRT: Taizu I, 15.233–235. Yongji, a.k.a. Wanyan Yunji, was the seventh son of emperor Shizong and hence an uncle of the deceased emperor Zhangzong. He is better known as Weishao Wang (r. 1208–1213). This story does not appear in the *Jinshi*, but part of it is found in the *Yuanshi*. See YS I, 15 (j. 1); also Franke 1994: 251–252. The Manchu word *doro* covers a range of meanings, including doctrine, way, ritual, rule, and morality.

14. JMD: I, 541–542/MBRT: Taizu I, 15.235. Parts of these stories appear again in JMD: II, 1125–1127/MBRT: Taizu II, 41.601.

15. JMD: II, 820–821/MBRT: Taizu I, 28.415–416. Identical wording appears in another letter sent just a week later, in which the Wanli emperor is named explicitly. See JMD: II, 842–844/MBRT: Taizu I, 29.427–429.

16. MG 61624: 39–41. A very similar repertory of negative historical examples is found in MG 61626, a blockprint that appears to date from the early 1620s. The wording of the references to stories from Chinese history ("I have heard . . .") suggests that these were related orally to Nurhaci, while that of references to stories about Jin history ("I have read . . .") suggests that parts of the *Jinshi* may already have been translated into Manchu long before Hong Taiji ordered a more systematic translation years later.

17. JMD: VI, 2923/MBRT: Taizong IV, 19.258–259. The reference to Zhu Yuanzhang as "Zhu Taizu" suggests that the Manchus were still not at home manipulating the various personal names, temple names, and such, that designated Chinese emperors.

18. JMD: VI, 2608/MBRT: Taizong IV, 3.31. JMD originally had Daisung for the Song dynasty, but the *dai* (great) was then crossed out and left out in the later MBRT. The agreement referred to here was the Treaty of 1142, which drew the border between the Song and the Jin at the Huai River and committed the Song to substantial annual payments of silver and silk. See Franke 1994: 233–234.

19. The only exceptions I have found are a 1635 reference to Tang Xuanzong and a 1638 reference to Emperor Wen of Han. Both figures are presented in a positive light, as role models. For the first example, see KMTTK: 1, 45; the same passage is found in GSYD Tiancong 9 (Tiancong 9.1.27). Citations of this material adopt the following format: GSYD: reign year.page [if indicated] (date). For the Chinese translation of the GSYD passage, see QNMDY: I, 144. For the second example, see GSYD: Chongde 3.00292 (Chongde 3/7/16)/QNMDY: I, 133.

20. That the mythical Manchu ancestor Bukūri Yongšon was surnamed Aisin Gioro is pure fiction, for the earliest record of the surname Aisin Gioro dates from 1612 (JMD: I, 43/MBRT: Taizu I, 2.20). In his dealings with China and Korea, Nurhaci also sometimes pretended to be descended from the powerful Tong lineage, but this, too, was an invention. A good discussion of Nurhaci's genealogy is found in Xue Hong 1994. See also Zheng 1980, esp. pp. 38–47, as well as an extended discussion of Manchu genealogy in Crossley 1999, esp. 74–84.

21. As pointed out in note 4 above, the proclamation of the Latter Jin name is customarily dated to 1616, but the first documented uses of the name appear in 1619 correspondence with the Korean throne. Very few contemporary references to the "Latter Jin" can be found in the sources, including only one in the entire preconquest chronicles, where Nurhaci is called the "Latter Jin khan." See JMD: II, 625/MBRT: Taizu I, 19.293. Some have hypothesized that changing letter Jin to Jin was done to appease Ming sensibilities, but it is hard to see how this would have made much difference to the Beijing court, who in either case could scarcely have overlooked the echoes of the past in the name Jin. It seems more likely that abandoning Latter Jin was the idea of Hong Taiji, who eschewed the idea that the Manchu state represented a literal revival of the earlier Jurchen dynasty. It is worth noting also that, unlike the Liao and the Yuan, which in Manchu were consistently called the Great Liao (Dailiyoo, Dai Liyoo) and Great Yuan (Daiyuwan, Dai Yuwan), the Jin was spoken of as the Great Jin very rarely (only three times in the MBRT, twice as Dai Gin, once as Amba aisin). This pattern is also observed in the Manchu titles given to the translations of the Liao, Jin, and Yuan histories. See below.

22. MBRT: Taizong V, 40.544–545. Unlike the bridge of a violin or violoncello, the bridge of the zitherlike *qin* was permanently fixed to the instrument.

23. JMD: X, 4730/MBRT: Taizong VI, 7.990. Hong Taiji reminded his listeners that as part of the sacrifice to Heaven, Liao Taizong would shoot an arrow into a willow tree.

While shooting willow trees does indeed seem to have been part of Liao ritual practice, perhaps with the meaning of rebirth, it seems to have been done primarily with the intent of bringing rain. See Wittfogel and Feng 1949: 216; also LS: I, 84 (j. 7). The only mention of shooting willows that I have found in the biography of Liao Taizong is a reference to the Jurchen presentation of horses for use in the ceremony (LS: I, 51 [j. 4]). It seems possible that this information was part of popular knowledge at the time.

24. KMTTK: I, 46; QNMDY: I, 144. It should be noted that Nurhaci's identification with the Jin was not entirely exclusive, either. In 1621, reflecting on the fact that enterprises begun by the father were often completed by the son, he cited both the example of Agūda (Jin Taizu) and Ukimai (Jin Taizong), as well as of Chinggis (Yuan Taizu) and Ögedei (Yuan Taizong). See JMD: II, 652/MBRT: Taizu I, 21.313.

25. GSDY: Tiancong 9 (Tiancong 9/7/25)/QNMDY: I, 80; KMTTK: II, 216. On the importance of the Mahākāla cult to the early Manchu state, see Grupper 1979; also Crossley 1999: 238–241. In identifying the location of the temple, Grupper relies on the letter of the Korean envoy and so translates "Xingjing" as Mukden (138). But the Manchu text makes it clear that in fact two separate matters were being discussed in turn: first, that a ruined temple in Yenden, the old capital, was being restored, and second, that a new temple was being built in Mukden to house the Mahākāla statue. Thus Xingjing should be understood as Yenden (i.e., Hetu Ala).

26. JMD: VI, 2940–2945/MBRT: Taizong IV, 20.269–271. These words were followed by a brief narrative outlining the righteousness of Manchu grievances against the Ming and a request for support from the Jin imperial spirits.

27. GSYD: Chongde 3:00256–00258 (Chongde 3/7/6)/QNMDY: I, 326.

28. A letter written by Dorgon to the people of Jinzhou in November 1636, after the proclamation of the name Qing, offers a striking contrast to these apparent efforts to dissociate the Qing from any direct relationship to the Jin. Dorgon announced: "An emperor has come forth. Great Jin is his name. Ruling all under Heaven, he has reestablished the Great Jin khans of five hundred years ago, before the Great Yuan and the Great Ming emperors." JMD: X, 5140/MBRT: Taizong VII, 30.1323.

29. Details of these translations are found in Durrant 1979: 654–656, as well as in Fuchs 1936: 42–43.

30. Dahai (d. 1632) is most famous for having invented a system of diacritical marks (circles and dots) in 1632 to better differentiate the letters of the Manchu alphabet. However, as recent work has shown, this is probably not the whole story. In fact, the script reform movement seems to have begun in the 1620s and to have involved others besides Dahai. Dahai's main achievement in 1632 was to add diacritics to personal names and place names. See Pang 1999.

31. The others were the Palace Historiographical Academy (Ma. Gurun-i suduri yamun, Ch. Nei guoshiyuan) and the Palace Secretariat Academy (Ma. Narhūn bithei yamun, Ch. Nei mishuyuan). Sometimes *dorgi*, "inner" (Ch. *nei*) is prefixed to the names of these institutions in Manchu, sometimes not.

32. More information on Hife, and on Manchu translations in the early Qing generally, can be found in Chase 1979: ch. 2. See also Durrant 1979.

33. Qing *shilu*: Taizong, 23.14a–b. The same event is recorded in KMTTK: I, 144–145.

34. Information on the original compilation of the Liao, Jin, and Yuan standard histories—generally considered to be of rather poor quality—can be found in the bibliographical essays at the end of the *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 6 (Franke and Twitchett 1994).

35. Manuscripts of parts of the Manchu *Jinshi* and *Yuanshi* are extant. Part of the former is in the Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan (First Historical Archives of China, Beijing), where it is stored together with documents from the Palace Historiographic Academy. Titled only "Aisin-i kooli jai" (Records of the Jin, 2), it contains the translation of the biography of Agūda up to the 4th month of the 2nd year of Tianfu (1118) (i.e., JS: I, 19–31 [j. 2]). This work is a much more literal translation than the biography included for publication in the final version of the *Aisin gurun-i suduri.* The manuscript shows extensive corrections and emendations, which appear to be followed in the final version. Another manuscript fragment of the Jin history is apparently held in the Lüshun Museum (Huang and Qu 1991: 162). A fragment of the draft translation of the *Yuanshi*, purchased in Beijing in 1948, is held in the collection of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. It represents the translation of two chapters of the annals (*benji*) of Khubilai and contains "many corrections and deletions, which are followed in the final version." See Simon and Nelson 1977: 29, and Kanda 1995. In addition, manuscripts of the Manchu translations of all three histories are believed to be stored in the library of the Imperial Palace Museum in Beijing (Huang and Qu 1991: 162–163). More careful study of these various drafts is sure to reveal more about the process whereby the histories were written. At present, it seems most sensible to assume an initial process of extensive revisions occurring between 1639 and March 1644, and a second, less extensive, revision occurring after March 1644, before publication in May 1646. A detailed discussion can be found in Kanda 1995. Furthermore, it is possible that other fragments of the draft translations may surface in the future. My thanks to Professors Matsumura Jun and Kanda Nobuo for making a copy of the *Jinshi* manuscript available to me and for sharing their views concerning these various textual problems.

36. Dorgon, who led the regents, later cited the *Jinshi* in cautioning against internecine feuding among the nobility (Wakeman 1985: II, 849).

37. The preface notes three hundred each of the Manchu *Liaoshi* and *Jinshi*, and six hundred of the *Yuanshi*, but, as Kanda Nobuo has explained, this probably refers to the number of boxed sets (*tao*). The length of the *Yuanshi* meant that it took up two *tao.* See Kanda 1995: 278.

38. DLGS: I, la–3a. The Chinese version of Hife's memorial to the Shunzhi emperor on this occasion, found in Qing *shilu*: Shizu, 3.22a–24a, differs rather significantly in some places from the Manchu original.

39. In this connection, the author of a 1933 catalog of Manchu books in Beijing wrote: "The three books above are the benji of the three histories. I once made a rough comparison of them with the three Chinese histories and found their contents to be mostly identical." See the entries in Li Teh Ch'i 1933. Kanda, however, points out that the translation "is compiled into an annal [*sic*] by selecting from benji and supplementing with accounts from [the] biographical section of the original history." See Kanda 1968: 79.

40. For a list of these translations, see Durrant 1977: 52–54. It is worth noting that Stanislas Julien, in his bibliography of Manchu translations from the Chinese, reports the existence of Manchu versions of the *Shiji* and of the histories of the Han, Zhou, and Southern Song, as well as of the *Lieguo zhuan* (1889: entries 35, 36, 37, 38, and 77). None of these works appears, however, in the modern catalogs of collections of Manchu books I have checked.

41. LS: I, 332–333 (j. 28). The translation is from Wittfogel and Feng 1949: 423, with romanization altered.

42. Some examples are given in Kanda 1995: 280–283.

43. The Yin Mountains (Yinshan) are identified by Wittfogel and Feng as a mountain range along the southern rim of Inner Mongolia (1949: 470); the Lugu (Ch. Luqu) River is the modern Kerulen River, in western Mongolia (62); Begu refers to the Baigou River, then the natural boundary between the Liao and the Song (79n).

44. This figure is from LS: I, 417 (j. 36); see Wittfogel and Feng 1940: 553.

45. I have not been able to find the specific source of this information in the LS.

46. DLGS: 8.28b. A *tohoma* was a special sort of saddle cloth to protect riders' legs. The "small flag" listed in the Chinese original is omitted (LS: I, 397 [j. 34]). Wittfogel and Feng (1949: 560) seem to have mistranslated *huodao shi*, "flint," as "knife."

47. LS: I, 397 (j. 34) says *qing niu*, "blue ox," which Wittfogel and Feng (1949: 561) strangely translate as "grey ox."

48. On this mountain, believed to be the ancient home of the Khitan people, see Wittfogel and Feng 1949: 240.

49. Wittfogel and Feng (1949: 561) translate this as "sergeant."
50. Wittfogel and Feng (1949: 564) understand this passage to mean "to drag brushwood to windward," but see the explanation in the text below. Here, as elsewhere, one is reminded of the general utility of Manchu translations as a means of better understanding the original Chinese text.
51. DLGS: 8.35b. All of these are taken from LS: V (j. 116).
52. AGS: 9.48a–b. This passage is an abstract of JS: III, 1005–1007 (j. 44).
53. Qing *shilu*: Shizu, 29.10a. The edict also states that copies of the "Precious Instructions" (Ch. Baoxun) of the first Ming emperor were also to be distributed to all. This is no doubt the text titled in Manchu *Ming gurun-i hūng u han-i oyonggo tacihiyan* (Important teachings of the Hongwu emperor of the Ming). According to the preface, this translation was completed under the supervision of Garin in the 3rd year of the Shunzhi reign (1646). A complete copy exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
54. Cf. Durrant 1979: 656: "His [Hong Taiji's] emphasis upon the importance of historical example to illustrate the virtues attending a rising state and the vices accompanying decline sounds very Chinese in tone." But see tne discussion in Bol 1987: 483–493.
55. On this point, see Di Cosmo 1999, esp. 7, 28.
56. *"Fukjin ilibure mangga babe šumin sahabi. duin mederi banin arbun be getuken ulhihebi." Ming gurun-i Hūng u han-i oyonggo tacihiyan*: 2a.

■ Source: Gimm, Martin, 'Nurgači versus Nurhači: an annotation to P. Adam Schall [on how to read the personal name of the founder of the Manchu Empire]', in *Central Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (2005), Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 204–212.

NURGAČI VERSUS *NURHAČI*
AN ANNOTATION TO P. ADAM SCHALL

Martin Gimm

1

Three categories of historical sources are relevant for the era of the Qing Dynasty: (1) the Chinese ones which mirror the official version of the events; (2) the Manchu ones which often render facts more comprehensively and more detailed since they are "closer to what happened"; (3) notes made by foreigners—mostly European missionaries—who mostly describe contemporary events from a completely different point of view and sometimes in a more realistic way. The latter category of sources often touches upon areas which are neglected or totally omitted by Chinese and Manchu documents. In such cases, they have to be regarded important supplements to local sources, even though their point of view is often biased. It is an interesting task to compare and cautiously evaluate events that are documented in all three categories of sources at the same time.

The latter category of sources can be of certain help in answering the question of how to read the personal name of the founder of the Manchu Empire: "Nurhači" or maybe "Nurgači" (time of life: 1559–1626, time of reign: 1583–1626).

2

The wide-spread habit of transcribing the name in question as "Nurgači" in American Qing literature[1] dates back to Joseph Fletcher (1934–1984). The reason for this is to be found in a characteristic feature of the so-called

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[1] See e.g. Pamela Kyle Crossley and Evelyn S. Rawski, "A Profile of the Manchu Language in Ch'ing History", in: *HJAS* 53,1 (1993), 69 and elsewhere; P.K. Crossley, *The Manchus*, Oxford (1997), *passim* etc. Sporadically, the reading Nurgaci is mentioned even earlier, see for example four decades previously Louis Ligeti (1902–1987) in his ground-breaking article "A propos de l'écriture mandchoue", in *AOH* 2 (1952), p. 36.

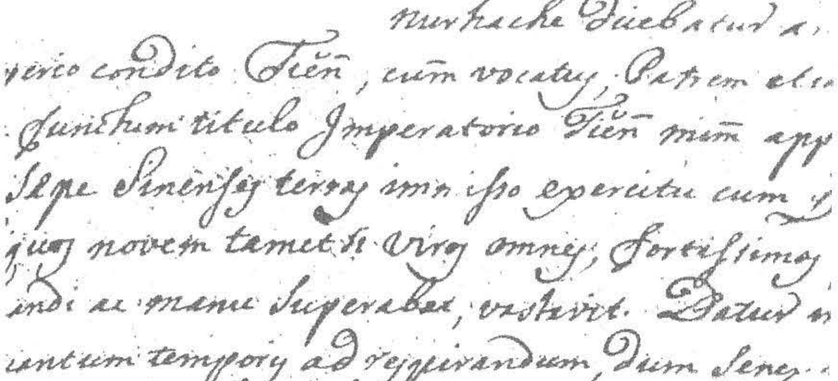
"old Manchu script" (*jiù mǎnwén* 舊滿文/*tongki fuka akô hergen*) which does not differentiate graphically between "g" and "h". As generally known, it was only Dahai (1595–1632) under the second Manchu sovereign Hông Taiji (1592–1643), among others, who, by his writing reform in 1632 (other sources say already in 1630), founded the so-called "new Manchu script" (*xīn mǎnwén* 新滿文/*tongki fuka sindaha hergen*). Inspired by the Korean model, he introduced diacritical marks (*tongki fuka*, "dots and circles") to differentiate between g, k, and h.

3

From a European source (which, at first sight, seems to be peripheral) it can be concluded that at least about one generation after the Khan's death his name was pronounced "Nurhači", not "Nurgači", i.e. with a fricative glottal or velar sound /h/, not with a velar plosive /g/. This holds true despite the fact that for the older time (i.e. from the middle to the end of the 16th century), in the end no certain proof can be furnished for any contemporary reading. This knowledge can be gained from a late work of the Cologne missionary P. Adam Schall von Bell[2]/Tang Ruowang 湯若望 (1592–1666) who had stayed in Beijing since 1626 and was active, among other things, as the director of the Imperial Astronomical Office (*qintian jian* 欽天監). Adam Schall had recorded his memories in a comprehensive Latin treatise and completed it still before 1658. One first copy was brought to Europe as early as 1658 by a missionary travelling back to his home country (manuscript A; see below). Three years later (1661), a second manuscript (manuscript B) followed in a slighty altered version. The latter copy was immediately revised in the contemporary style and already appeared in 1665 in Vienna as a printed version. The work which can certainly be regarded as an important contemporary source of the Chinese situation of that time has only come into existence one generation after Nurhači's death. Presumably for the first time in European literature, Schall here mentions the personal name of the sovereign Nurhači which also in local literature is rarely mentioned[3] and which in his manuscript appears in the form of "Nurhache":[4]

(1) Manuscript A[5] from 1658, p. 417:

> Nurhache dicebatur antea, sed brevi imperio condito Tiĕn cum vocatur.


Nurhache dicebatur a
perio condito Tiēn, cum vocatur. Patrem als
functum titulo Imperatorio Tiēn mim app
Saepe Sinensis terras inn ipso exercitu cum
quos novem tamen si viros omnes fortissimos
inde ac manu superabat, vastavit. Datur
ventum tempory ad respirandum, dum Sene

(2) Manuscript B,[6] not dated, from around 1660 (quoted here from Bernard and Bornet, p. 177):

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[2] A detailed presentation of the missionary's life and works based on new sources is in preparation in the context of preparing and editing the voluminous Manchu case records (*narhôn-i dangse/miben dang* 密本檔) against Adam Schall.

[3] As in later local documents, in European publications the Manchu founder of the state generally only appears under his posthumous imperial name of Taizu 太祖; e.g. in Vojeu de Brunem [i.e. pseudonym for Joseph-Baptiste Jouve d'Embrun, 1701–1758], *Histoire de la conquete de la Chine par les tartares Mancheoux; a laquelle on a joint un accord chronologique des Annales de la Monarchie Chinoise* [...], 2 vols., Lyon (1754), p. 11 and elsewhere: "Taytsou"; Ilarion K. Rossochin, *Obstojatel'noe opisanie proizchoždeniia i sostojanija man'džurkogo naroda i vojska*, St. Petersburg (1784), vols. 14–16, appendix, p. 184/6: "Tajdzù" and "Tajdzù-Dérgi-Huandi" etc.

[4] The spelling of the last syllable "-che" can possibly be attributed to a smoothed pronunciation or to inexact written records.

[5] Title: *Historica Relatio eorum. quæ contingerunt occasione consertationis* [*concertationis*] *Calendarij Sinici facta à R. P. Joanne Adanmo* [!] *Schal* [!], *Societatis JESV Sacerdote. Anno Christi. 1658;* 21 chapters, 93 fol. (double pages).

This manuscript had been brought to Europe via Macao in 1659 by P. Giovanni Filippo de Marini (1608–1682). Today, it is in the *Biblioteca da Ajuda*, Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, 1349-021 Lisboa, Portugal (sign.: doc. 49-V-14; folio 376–469; Coll. Jesuítas na Ásia), and is unpublished so far.

[6] (without title); 25 chapters, 60 fol.

This is a slightly deviating version, presumably revised later, of the model that can be traced back to P. Johannes Grüber (1623–1689). He took the manuscript along on his journey back via Tibet and Persia, started on April 13, 1661, and presented it in Rome on

> Nurhache[7] antea dicebatur, sed imperio condito Tien cum appellatus fuit.

The following two printed versions from 1665 and 1672, produced in Europe, constitute revisions from third parties in the taste of the time:

(3) *Historica Narratio*[8] from 1665, Caput XII, p. 103:

> Mirhache[9] [Nurhache] Imperatorem hunc anteà, posteà verò à condito imperio Tién Cum vocarunt.

(4) *Historica Relatio*[10] from 1672, Caput XII, p. 135, almost identical:

> Mirhache [Nurhache] Impertorem hunc antea, postea verò à condito imperio Tiên Cum vocarunt.

The German translation from the beginning of the 19th century follows the printed edition from 1665, taking over its erroneous reading:

(5) v. Mannsegg (1834; see below), p. 216:[11]

February 20, 1664. The manuscript which today is in the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu* (*ARSI*), Borgo San Spirito 4, 00195 Rome (sign.: Jap. Sin. 143 No. 9, folios 181–241) was used by Henri Bernard S.J. and Paul Bornet S.J. for their new edition including a French translation: *Lettres et Mémoires d'Adam Schall S.J. édités par le P. Henri Bernard S.J.—Relation Historique*, Texte latin avec traduction française du P. Paul Bornet S.J., Tientsin (1942).

[7] Erroneous reading in Bernard and Bornet (1942), adapting to the printed versions: *"Mirhache"*. Concerning this matter, see the following section.

[8] Title: *Historica Narratio, De Initio et Progressu Missionis Societatis Jesu Apud Chinenses, Ac præsertim in Regia Pequinensi, Ex Litteris R. P. Joannis Adami Schall ex eadem Societate, Supremi ac Regij Mathematum Tribunalis ibidem Præsidis collecta*, Vienna (1665), 267 pages (25 chapters); first printed edition; new version (abandoning the 1st person singular of Schall's models) by the Austrian Jesuit Johannes Foresi (1624–1682). P. Grüber (see above) is considered author of the last four chapters.

After this model, two centuries later a free German version appeared: Ig[naz] Sch[umann], v. Mannsegg, *Geschichte der chinesischen Mission unter der Leitung des Pater Johann Adam Schall, Priesters aus der Gesellschaft Jesu. Aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen begleitet,* Vienna ^{1}(1834), ^{2}(1848).

[9] Here, for the first time, the erroneous reading *"Mirhache"* instead of *"Nurhache"* occurs. For details see the following section.

[10] Title: *Historica Relatio De Ortu et Progressa Fidei Orthodoxæ In Regno Chinesi Per Missionaros Societatis Jesu Ab Anno 1581. usque ad Annum 1669. Novissimè collecta Ex Literis eorundem Patrum Soc. Jesu Præcipuè R. P. Joannis Adami Schall Coloniensis Ex eâdem Societate. Editio altera, & aucta.* [...], Regensburg (1672), 367 p.—Second edition of the above mentioned work with a revised title, enlarged by two additional contributions: *Compendiosa Narratio de Statu Missionis Chinerais ab anno 1581 usque ad anno 1669* by P. Prospero Intorcetta (1627–1696) from 1671, p. 353 fl., and *Prodigia...* by P. Giovanni Gabiani (1623–1694), p. 395 fl. *œ*

[11] See also reprint in *China heute*, 22, St. Augustin (2003), p. 101.

> Diesen Kaiser (den Großvater des jetzigen) nannte man früher *Mirhaché*, nachher aber, nachdem er seine Herrschaft festgestellt hatte, *Tian Cum.*

Concluding from these references, it can be taken for certain that at court the name of the founder of the nation was colloquially pronounced "Nurhači", at least after the conquest of China in 1644.

Additional evidence could be seen in the fact that the Chinese character 哈 is read as *ha*^{1} or *ho*^{4} (rarely *sha*^{4}*, xia*^{4}*, ta*^{4}) following the approximately contemporary *Kangxi* dictionary,[12] and as *hā, hâ, hà* as well as *shà, kā* following new lexicons[13] thus never as "ga". This character is, without exception, linked to the name in its Chinese rendering Nuerhaqi 努爾哈齊, Nuerhachi 奴兒哈赤, etc. The Manchu syllable *ga*, however, in Chinese customarily is rendered using the sign 噶 *ga*^{2} (as in the name of the well-known scholar Gagai 噶蓋, †1599).

3.1. For the above mentioned printed versions of Schall a specific feature has to be noted, namely the erroneous reading of the name: "Mirhache" instead of "Nurhache". This (as a number of other mistakes) can probably be attributed to the error of an ignorant copier or printer of the first version in Vienna around 1664/65 who misinterpreted the first two letters in the name "Nurhache" (i.e. an inexact reading of Nurhači) "Nu" as "Mi").[14] This erratum subsequently had an effect on several generations of authors of the 18th and 19th centuries who, without hesitation, took over the wrong form "Mirhache" (Mirhači) and the like into their publications.[15]

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[12] See *Xinxiu Kangxi zidian* 新修康熙字典, ed. by Ling Shaowen 淩紹雯, Taipei (1981), p. 178.

[13] 13 See e.g. in I.M. Ošanin, *Bol'šoj kitajsko-russkij slovar'*, Moscow (1983), vol. 1, p. 453.

[14] The four minuscule heights of the letter combination 'n + u' were misread as 'm + i' in the model on which the printed version is based, although the i-dot is missing, as clearly visible in manuscript A.

[15] Only some of the authors who agreed with this reading will be named here: Deguignes [Joseph De Guignes (1721–1800)], *Allgemeine Geschichte der Hunnen und Türken, der Mogols und anderen occidentalischen Tartaren...* [vol. 1:] *Genealogisch-chronologische Einleitung...* (Translated from the French by Johann Carl Dähnert), Greifswald (1768/70), p. 260:

> Tai-tsong-ven-hoam-ti, sonst Tien-tsong oder Mir-ha-sche, oder Nol-ha-sche genannt, des Tai-tsu-Sohn.

Before, Eberhard Werner Happel (Everardus Gvernerus Happelius) had chosen the latter form in his *Thesaurus exoticorum Oder eine mit Außländischen Raritäten und Geschichten Wohlversehene Schatzkammer Fürstellend die Asiatische, Africanische und Americanische Nationes* [...], Hamburg (1688), see p. 23:

> Nolhace die erste Wurtzel der Tartarn, so nun in Sina regiren.

However, since the mid-19th century the "correct" spelling spread presumably by way of Russian sources.[16]

Another problem not to be discussed here is the question of why Schall refers to Nurhači as "Tiên Cum", i.e. the 1st reign-title *tiancong*[17] 天聰 (1592–1643) of the successor Hông Taiji.[18] The latter was introduced to older Western literature with the Mongolian designation of respect Abaγai (honorary name of the crown prince), also Abahai.

So far it was not possible to determine to which source the reading Nol-ha-tsche/Nolhace can be traced back which corresponds much better to the original. (See also v. Mannsegg, p. 216, note).

From general historical literature, the influential work of Joh. Christoph Gatterer [1727–1799] shall be mentioned as an example: *Handbuch der Universalhistorie nach ihrem gesamten Umfange bis auf unsere Zeiten fortgesezt*, Göttingen (1764). In part 2, vol. 1, p. 191, it renders the name as "Mir-hasche, oder Nol-hasche".

From the written works of the missionaries, Albert Werfer (ed.) could be mentioned, who takes over the reading "Mirhache" in his *Leben des Paters Johann Adam Schall und sein Wirken in China* (Leben ausgezeichneter Katholiken der drei letzten Jahrhunderte, vol. 11), preface from 1854, Schaffhausen ²(1871), p. 49:

> Vor dieser Erhebung [gegen China] nannte er sich Mirhache, nach derselben Tienkum [*tiancong*, see above]. Die Geschichte kennt ihn auch unter dem Namen Tätsong [*Taizong*, correctly: Taizu] und Tientsong [*tiancong*, see above].

[16] See e.g. Vladimir Vasil'evich Gorskii (1819–1847) "Načalo i pervye dela man'džurskogo doma", in: *Trudy členov Rossiiskoi duchovnoi missii v Pekine*, part 1, St. Petersburg (1852); German version: W. [V.V.] Gorski, "Ursprung und erste Thaten des Mantschsurischen Hauses", in: *Arbeiten der Kaiserlich Russischen Gesellschaft zu Peking über China, sein Volk, seine Religion, seine Institutionen, socialen Verhältnisse etc.*, Aus dem Russischen […] Carl Abel and F.A. Mecklenburg, vol. 2, Berlin (1858), p. 22 and elsewhere:

[17] Other contemporary authors followed this usage; such as, already a decade earlier: Martino Martini S.J. [1614–1661], *De bello tartarico historia…*, Antwerpen (1654); (English edition) *Bellum Tartaricum, or the Conquest of the Great and most renowned Empire of China, By the Invasion of the Tartars […]*, London (1654); reprint Beijing (1939), p. 41:

> Thienzungus;

as well as the same, *Novvs Atlas Sinensis […]*, Amsterdam (1655), p. 7;

De Guigne (1770; see above), p. 260:

> Tientsong;

as well as v. Mansegg (1824), p. 216 etc.

[18] However, Hông Taji is called by his 2nd reign-title *chongde* 崇德 (1636–1644) in previous literature; see e.g. M. Martini, *Bellum*, English (1654; see above), p. 53:

> Zungteus;

the same, *Atlas* (1655), p. 7:

> Zungchinus;

Adrien Greslon [Grelon] S.J. [1618–1696], *Histoire de la Chine sovs la domination des Tartares. ov l'on verra les choses les plus remarquables qui sont arrivées dans ce grand Empire, depuis l'année 1651. qu'ils ont achevé de le conquerir, jusqu'en 1669*, Paris (1671), p. 2:

> Tsumté etc.

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As to how Adam Schall learned about the personal name of the founder of the state (which was very rarely mentioned in local sources), it can only be presumed that he got it from personal conversations with the juvenile emperor Shunzhi (time of life: 1638–1661) with whom he maintained a close relationship for several years. As especially Western literature had always duly emphasized,[19] the less than twenty-year-old sovereign, quite unusual for a Chinese emperor, had supposedly called on him 24 times only in the years of 1656 and 1657 at his place of activity near the church of *Nantang*[20] 南堂, conducting a vivid exchange of conversation with him.

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[19] Concerning this matter, the following have to be quoted from Schall's notes;

(1) manuscript A, p. 431:

> Verum ad demonstrationem benevolentiæ, quid clarius, equod intra biennium annis scilicet quinquagesimo sexto et quinquagesimo septimo supra millesimum sexcentcsimum viginti quatuor vicibus domum nostram venire, in eaque diutius moravi comedere, et bibere, contra morem omnium retrò Imperatorum dignatus est?

(2) Manuscript B, see Bernard and Bornet, p. 257, altered stylistically:

> Verum ad significationem benevolentæ quid clarius eo quam intra biennium, anno scilicet huius seculi quinquagesimo sexto et septimo, viginti quatuor vicibus domum nostram ipsum venisse, in ea diutius moratum fuisse, in eaque comedere bibereque praeter moram omnium retro Imperatorum dignatum fuisse?

(3) Historia Narratio from 1665, Caput XV, p. 187:

> An non inclinatissimì animi indicium fit, quòd intra biennium, per annum videlicet quinquagesimum sextum, & septimum currentis seculi, viginit quatuor vicibus ab ædes P.P. venire, iisque diutius immorari, comedere & bibere, præter morem omnium retro Imperatorum dignatus est?

After this printed version, v. Mansegg notices (1834), p. 286:

> Sollte es nicht als ein Beweis der innigsten Gewogenheit angesehen werden, daß er [der Kaiser] innerhalb der zwei Jahre 1656 und 1657 vier und zwanzigmal in die Wohnungen der Väter kam, dort längere Zeit sich aufhielt, aß und trank gegen die Gewohnheit aller früheren Kaiser […]

Early evidence for such visits is presented by Domingo F. Navarrete, (1618–1686) in his *Tratados Historicos Politicos Ethicos y Religiosos de la Monorchia de China*, Madrid (1676), see English version *An Account of the Empire of China* […], London (1704); new edition of James S. Cummins, *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete 1618–1686* (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd Ser., no. 118), Cambridge (1962), vol. 2, p. 158:

> […] as it was told me by Father John Balat [Jean Valat, 1614?-1696], a Jesuit, who himself saw the late Emperor [Shunzhi] when he went to Father Adam, his Church.

Even today (Oct. 2004) this event is pointed out in the announcements which are posted in the parvis of the *Nantang* Church:

> 清順治曾經二十四次駕臨南堂, 與[…]湯若望神父懇切 交談…
>
> Emperor Shun Zhi visited Father Schall on twenty-four occasions for discussion.

In a previous announcement (seen in Nov. 2001), the following was still to be read:

> […] Emperor Shun Zhi 24 times came here and have had heart-to-heart talking with Father Adam Schall.

[20] The church today is enlarged to a bishop's see (officially called *Xuanwu men tianzhu tang* 宣武門天主堂), and its building fabric dates back to the 19th century. It is on the

Chinese sources of such events, however, are much more sparse.[21] Other information about Manchu history which can be noticed at various places in Schall's notes presumably also results from such conversations held with the emperor or, prior to these, from talks with the emperor's uncle and sovereign Dorgon (1612–1650) with whom Schall was on good terms as well.[22]

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street *Qianmen xi dajie* 前門西大街, no. 141. Only two stelas bearing inscriptions as well as some fragments of stone have been preserved since the time of Schall.

[21] Chinese records which could have confirmed those visits contrary to the dignity of an emperor presumably were hardly made, as a matter of principle. The respective daily records (*Qiju zhu* 起居注) of the Shunzhi emperor which might have shed light on the matter are not preserved, unfortunately. The only corresponding contemporary source known to me is a Chinese-Manchu stone stela dated to 1 Feb. 1657 which up to nowadays is situated at the Eastern side of the *Nantang* Church (unfortunately, it is highly weathered). It is titled *Yuzhi tianzhu tang beiji you ming* 御製天主堂碑記有銘/*Han-i araha tiyan ju tang-ni bei bithe.* A part of the inscription on this stela refers to visits of the emperor which took place on the occasion of his excursions to the southern hunting park:

> 朕巡行南苑。偶經斯地。見神之儀貌如其國人…
> When inspecting the southern area of the park, my way also took me here [to the *Nantang* Church]. There I saw the holy artefacts according to their way.
> 問其几上之書, 則曰天主教之説也
> When I enquired about the books on his desk he [P. Schall] said: "These are elucidations of the Christian doctrine".
> 況西洋之書, 天主之教, 朕素未覽閱
> Never before had I seen such Western books on the Christian doctrine.

See the rubbings of the inscription in the national Library in Beijing (sign. *jing* 京 4549); Chinese text in: *Rixia jiuwen kao* 日下舊聞考, compil. Yu Minzhong 于敏中 et al., 1st print 1785/7, j. 49, reprint Beijing (1981), vol. 2., p. 779/80, and in *Zhengjiao fengbao* 正教奉褒, ed. Huang Bolu 黃伯祿, Shanghai (1894, ^{4}1904), pp. 28–29b (among others).

[22] Dorgon had appointed Schall president of the Astronomical Office on 26 Sept. 1644. v. Mannsegg notes, p. 211/2:

> [...] der sich [...] vor Allen am meisten hervorthat, war der ältere Vatersbruder des Kaisers [Dorgon], welcher auch den Pater Adam immer mit vieler Gewogenheit behandelte.

■ Source: Stary, Giovanni, 'Some preliminary remarks on the authenticity and historical value of Qing Taizu Nurhaci's 'Holy Teachings' (the Manchu version—Enduringge Tacihiyan)', in *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (2005), Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 60–70.

SOME PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE AUTHENTICITY AND HISTORICAL VALUE OF QING TAIZU NURHACI'S "HOLY TEACHINGS" (THE MANCHU VERSION—*ENDURINGGE TACIHIYAN*)*

Giovanni Stary

The so-called "Holy Teachings", *Enduringge Tacihiyan / Shengxun* 聖訓, of the first Manchu emperor Qing Taizu Nurhaci were printed in four volumes, in Manchu and Chinese, in 1740. The first order for its compilation goes back to 1655, but revisions of the text were ordered by Kangxi in 1671 and, again, in 1682.[1] The work consists of 4 volumes, of one chapter (*debtelin*) each, and contains altogether 93 "Teachings" subdivided into 26 'arguments'.[2]

In this preliminary research, we will try to find an answer to the following two questions: first, which sources have been used for the compilation of the printed edition of Nurhaci's "Teachings"; second, do these sources really reflect the original teachings and words of Nurhaci, or have they been changed in order to construct an Imperial figure in accordance with the Chinese idea of an Emperor?

For the first question, we obviously have to refer to the various *Shilu* editions, the only material available for our analysis.

For the second question, we must refer to the *Jiu Manzhou dang* (*JMZD*), which—being first-hand original sources—reflect Nurhaci's own words in a more true way.

As concerns the *Shilu*, we have four versions at our disposal: First, the trilingual *Manzhou Shilu* (*Manju-i yargiyan kooli*); second, the Manchu version of the *Wuhuangdi Shilu* (*Horonggo Enduringge Hūwangdi-i yargiyan kooli*); third, the revised version of the Kangxi period, and fourth, the revised version of the Qianlong period. Analysing these materials, we discover that the teachings are all found, more or less in form of word-by-word copies, in the revised *Shilu*-version of the Qianlong period. (From now on, we shall use the following abbreviations: M = Manzhou Shilu; W = Wuhuangdi Shilu; KX = Kangxi revised edition; QL = Qianlong revised edition)

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* Enlarged version of an article published in *Manyu yanjiu* 滿語研究 / *Manchu Studies* 1 (2004), pp. 69–74: "Manwen ben Qing Taizu Nuerhachi 'Shengxun' de kaozheng ji lishi jiazhi chutan" 減文本清太祖努爾哈赤《聖訓》的考証及歷史价值初探.

[1] Walter Fuchs, *Beiträge zur Mandjurischen Bibliographie und Literatur*, Tokyo 1936, p. 47.

[2] For our research, the Manchu copy kept in the Manuscript department of the Oriental Institute of the Russian Academy of Science, St. Petersburg, Russia, has been utilized. For details see Tatjana A. Pang, *Descriptive Catalogue of Manchu Manuscripts and Blockprints in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences.* Issue 2. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2001, (Aetas Manjurica 9), p. 62 no. 126.

From a first preliminary check results (see the attached "concordance") that all 93 examples are found in the KX and QL revised *Shilu* versions, 43 of which are also found in the M and W *Shilu*, whereas only 21 "Teachings" are also found in the *JMZD* (which, however, do not cover the whole period of Nurhaci's reign: this why a research on this matter shall never be really "complete".)

An accurate comparison of the "Teachings" with the KX and QL editions allows us to eliminate the KX version as a possible source, since the "Teachings" repeat some corrections found in the QL version only, which are missing in the KX version. For example:

1) In the section "buyen amuran be olhošorongge", in date *Abkai fulingga-i ningguci aniya, šahūn coko. nadan biyai niowanggiyan tasha inenggi / ineku inenggi*, Nurhaci quotes the classical "Šu ging" (*Shujing* 書經) in his "Teachings". The same classic is given in the QL revised *Shilu* version, in contrast with the KH revised version which, instead of quoting the *Shujing*, simply refers to a general "saying" (*yuyun* 語云). This episode, unfortunately, is missing in all earlier sources.
2) In the section "ferguwecuke horon", in date *Abkai fulingga-i ilaci aniya. suwayan morin. duin biyai šahūn ihan inenggi*, Nurhaci mentions the commander of a "jalan" (*jalan-i ejen*) in his "Teaching", a term which is found only in the QL revised *Shilu*. In all other *Shilu*, and in the *JMZD*, instead of "jalan-i ejen" the old term "sunja niru-i ejen" (commandant of five companies) is found.

On the basis of the material available, however, it is impossible to establish in a definite way if the "Teachings" are excerpts authomatically and directly copied from the QL revised *Shilu* version. Since this version was ordered in 1734 and finished in 1740,[3] i.e. in the same period when the "Teachings" were printed, we may suppose (if the mentioned dates are correct, as they should be) that both works were rather the result of an intensive collaboration between the two institutions in charge of their compilation.

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[3] Fuchs, p. 61.

The second question concerns the authenticity of the "Teachings" or, in other words: did Nurhaci really say the things which are reported in his "Teachings", or are they the result of a successive elaboration, containing omissions and corrections, carried out by the compilers in order to portray a figure in harmony with the classical Chinese idea of an Emperor?

For an answer, we must compare the entries in the *Jiu Manzhou dang*—i.e. the most certain contemporary source of Nurhaci's times—with the successive revisions. For this kind of research, we have at our disposal—as already mentioned—only 21 examples. One of the best examples is offered by Nurhaci's exhortation against wine-drinking, as found in the section "buyen amuran be olhošohongge", in date *Abkai fulingga-i juwanci aniya. niohon ihan. jakūn biyai sahahūn meihe inenggi*:

"Teachings"	*JMZD* (*IV, ff. 1922–25*)	***M & W Shilu versions***
julgei ebsi. arki nure omiha niyalma. omifi tenteke jaka baha, tere erdemu taciha. tuttu jabšaha seme gisurere be ***sure*** donjihao. ***arki nure*** omifi niyalma emgi becunuhe. niyalma be huwesilehe saciha. karu imbe waha. morin ci tuhefi gala bethe bijaha. meifen mokcofi bucehe. ibagan ušafi bucehe.	julgeci ebsi arki nure omiha niyalma ***bi*** omibi tendeke jaka baha: tere erdemu taciha tuttu jabšaha seme gisurerebe donjihao: omibi niyalma emgi becunuhe niyalma be hūwesilehe saciha. karu imbe waha: morin ci tūhefi gala bethe bijaha: meifen mokcofi būcehe. ibagan ušafi būcehe ***fancame nimeku cilime nimeku baha:***	julgei ebsi. arki nure omiha niyalma: bi omifi tenteke jaka baha. tere erdemu taciha. tuttu jabšaha seme gisurere be ***suwe*** donjihao. arki nure omifi niyalma emgi becunuhe. niyalma be huwesilehe saciha: karu imbe waha. morin ci tuhefi gala bethe bijaha. meifen mokcofi bucehe. ibagan ušafi bucehe.
arki de dabafi bucehe. jugūn de tuhefi etuku mahala waliyabuha.		arki de dabafi bucehe jugūn de tuhefi etuku mahala waliyabuha. ama
ama eme. ahūn deo de ehe oho. suihume tetun agūra ***hūwalame*** boo ***be*** manabuha. wasika ufaraha seme gisurere be bi donjiha. arki urundere de ebirakū kai:	ama erne anon deo de ehe oho: suihume tetun agūra ***be efuleme*** boo manabuha wasika ufaraha seme gisurere be bi donjiha. arki ūrundere de ebirako kai:	eme ahūn deo de ehe oho. suihume tetun agūra hūwalame boo be manabuha. wasika ufaraha seme gisurere be bi donjiha. arki urundere de ebirakū kai:

	buya toholion efen arafi sile barafi jefu: jai sesi arafi jefu: giose carufi jefu:	
arki nure teburengge.		
hala halai efen lala. dagilafi jecina.	hala halai efen lala dahilabi jecina:	hala halai efen lala *ararangge** dagilafi jecina:
arki ***nure*** teburengge efen ***lala*** ararangge gemu emu fisihe kai.	arki teburengge efen ararangge gemu emu bisihe kai:	arki nure teburengge efen lala ararangge gemu emu fisihe kai.
arki ***nure*** de efujembi. efen ***lala*** de ebimbi.	arki nure de efujembi. efen de ebimbikai:	arki nure de efujembi. efen lala de ebimbikai:
ebire be jeterakū efujere be ainu omimbi.	ebire be jeterakū efujere be ainu omimbi.	ebire be jeterakū efujere be ainu omimbi.
bengse akū niyalma omici beye bucembi.	bengse ako niyalma omici beye bucembi.	bengsen** akū niyalma omici beye bucembi.
erdemungge sain niyalma omici. erdemu efujembi.	erdemungge sain niyalma omici. erdemu efujembi.	erdemungge sain niyalma omici. erdemu efujembi.
dergi han. beise. ***ambasa*** de waka sabubufi.	han beise de waka sabumbi:	dergi han. beise. ambasa de waka sabumbi:
weile bahara. erun de tušarangge. gemu omiha turgun kai jai emu booi dolo eigen omici. sargan de eimebumbi.	eigen omici sargan de eimebumbi	*jai emu booi dolo**** eigen omici. sargan de eimebumbi:
sargan omici. eigen de waka sabumbi.	sargan omici eigen de waka sabumbi.	sargan omici. eigen de waka sabumbi:
booi aha dosorakū ukambi.	booi aha doosarako ukambi:	booi aha dosorakū ukambi:
arki nure omirengge ai sain.	arki nūre omirengge ai sain	arki nure omirengge ai sain.
julgei mergesei henduhengge.	julgei mergesei hendurengge:	julgei mergesei henduhengge.
horonggo okto. angga de gosihon. nimeku de tusa.	horonggo okto angga de gosihon ***gojime*** nimeku de tusa:	horonggo okto angga de gosihon gojime nimeku de tusa:
jancuhūn nure. angga de amtangga, nimeku be dekdebumbi.	jancuhon nure. angga de amtangga. nimeku be dekdebumbi.	jancuhūn nure. angga de amtangga. nimeku be dekdebumbi.
haldaba hūwekiyebure niyalmai gisun. donjire šan de icangga. banjire jurgan de ehe.	haldaba huwekiyebure niyalmai gisun. donjire šan de icangga. banjire jurgan de ehe.	haldaba hūwekiyebure niyalmai gisun. donjire šan de icingga. banjire jurgan de ehe.
tondo tafulara gisun. šan de icakū. banjire *doro* de tusa sehebi.	tondo tafulara ***niyalmai*** gisun. šan de ici akū. banjire ***jurgan*** de tusa ***seme henduhebikai:***	tondo tafulara gisun. šan de ici akū. banjire doro de tusa sehebi.
arki nure be asuru omire be nakacina	arki nūre be asuru omire be nakacina	arki nure be asuru omire be nakacina

* “ararangge” is missing in M.

** “bengse” is (by mistake?) substituted with “beise” in M—a nonsense.

*** The specification *jai emu booi dolo* (“in a family”) is found in the QL revised text only, and proves that this version is connected with the compilation of the “Teachings”.

As we have already pointed out, this comparison is a further proof that the “Teachings” coincide almost word-by-word with the QL revised *Shilu* texts, and do not respect the real (or doubtlessly more authentic) teachings of Nurhaci, as found in the *JMZD* documents only.

Probably the most interesting question, with reference to the above example, is why the *Shilu* compilers cancelled Nurhaci’s suggestions in substituting wine-drinking, when he says: “After having made small ‘toholion’ [cakes, *MWLD: toholiyo*], mix them with soup and eat them! Then, make ‘sesi’ cakes and eat them! Fry ‘giose’ [dumplings, < chin. jiaozi 餃子] and eat them!” (*buya toholion efen arafi sile barafi jefu: jai sesi arafi jefu: giose carufi jefu*). Where these words “unworthy” of an Emperor? We do not have an answer to this question, and to why Nurhaci’s references to two illnesses caused by wine-drinking, epilepsy (*fancame nimeku*) and dysphagia (*cilime nimeku*), were cancelled. Furthermore, the revisors of the QL *Shilu* fabricated the reference to crimes and punishments as a consequence of wine-drinking (*weile bahara. erun de tušarangge. gemu omiha turgun kai*).

Another example of how Nurhaci’s “Teachings”—as recorded in the *JMZD*—were changed is found in a speech pronounced at the presence of some Urut and Kalka noblemen who had recently submitted to Manchu power (in date *Abkai fulingga-i nadaci aniya. sahaliyan indahūn, juwe biyai sahaliyan morin inenggi*):

“Teachings”	*JMZD, 1020–1022*
meni gurun-i banjire doro.	meni gurun-i banjire doro:
tondo akdun. šajin-i jurgan	tondo akdun. sajin-i jurgan
be jafafi. erdemungge sain	be jafabi. erdemungge sain
niyalma be gidarakū ***wesimbure.***	niyalma be gidaraku
ehe facuhūn niyalma be dere	ehe facuhun niyalma be dere
banjirakū šajin-i gamame ofi.	banjiraku: sajin-i gamame obi
hūlha. holo ehe facuhūn akū.	hulha holo ehe facuhun aku:
jugūn de tuheke ***jaka be saci.***	ai ai jaka tuheke ba bahaci
tunggiyeme gaifi ejen de bumbi.	ejen de bumbi:

meni gurun-i banjire doro	
uttu ofi. ***abkai gosire be alihabi.***	tuttu obi. abka gosime
	gurun-i banjirengge ere inu:
suweni monggo gurun-i	suweni monggo gurun-i
niyalma gala de erihe jafafi	niyalma galade erihe jafabi
fucihi be hūlambime. hūlha holo	***tolome encu gunime*** hulha holo
be nakarakū banjire be abka	be ***dele arabi***: banjire be abka
wakalafi. suweni beise-i mujilen	wakalabi. suweni beisei mujilen
be gemu facuhūn obufi. gurun	be gemu facuhun obubi. gurun
jobombikai. ***te*** suwe mimbe baime	jobombikai suwe mimbe baime
jihe ***be dahame.*** erdemungge sain	jihe ***niyalma*** erdemungge sain
niyalma oci. erdemui gung de	niyalma oci erdemui gung de
dorolome ujire. erdemu akū	ujire: erdemu aku
niyalma oci. jihe gung de sain	niyalma oci jihe gung de sain
ujire. hūlha holo. ehe mujilen be	ujimbikai: ehe hulha holo mujilen be
ume deribure	ume deribure.
tenteke ehe mujilen	***ehe facuhun hulha holo deribuci.***
be waliyarakū oci.	
meni šajin-i gamambikai sehe:	meni sajin-i gamambikai:

Apart from stylistic corrections, we note several omissions and additions to the original text. Interesting—among others—is the addition of a reference to the Buddha (*fucihi be hūlambime*). Strangely enough, in other cases the *JMZD* reference to the Buddha was eliminated. For example, in the first "Teaching" recorded in the "niyalma be baitalahangge" section, in date *niohon gūlmahūn aniya omšon biyade* (11th month of 1615):

"Teachings"	*JMZD, 129*
julgei kooli be donjici.	***julge ci jihe fucihi enduri bithede***
	tūmen hacini gisun gisurehengge inu
mujilen tondo onco be dele	***damu*** mujilen tondo onco be dele
sehebi. bi gūnici.	***arame*** gisurehebi: bi gunici
	inu niyalmai banjire de
tondo onco mujilen ci dele akū.	***onco tondo*** mujilenci dele ***jai ūmai aku kai***:
ambasa suweni niyaman	ambasa suweni niyaman
hūncihin be duleme gūwa mujakū	***huncibe*** duleme guwa mujaku
niyalma be adarame tukiyere seme	niyalma be adarame tukiyere seme
ume gūnire. fulehe be ume tuwara.	ūme gunire: fulehe be ūme tuwara
mujilen tondo onco ***sain*** be	mūjilen onco tondo be
tuwame tukiyeki dere. giran be	tuwame tukiyekidere: giran be
ume tuwara. erdemu ***muten fulu***	ūme tuwara erdemu
golmin be tuwame amban ***obuki*** dere	be tuwame amban ***arakidere:***
doro dasara de. emu bade	***han-i amba*** doro dasarade emu bade
baitalaci ojoro niyalma aibide bi.	baitalaci ojoro niyalma aibide bi:
doro de aisilaci ojoro niyalma bici.	doro de aisilaci ojoro niyalma bici.
terebe ***uthai*** tukiyeki dere sehe:	*dūle* tere be tukiyeki dere seme henduhe:

The elimination of a reference to the Buddha had already been made in the M and W *Shilu*, and is obviously repeated in all successive revisions.

As a conclusion to this brief analysis, we may say that the "Teachings" do not add anything which is not found in the QL revised *Shilu*. If we want to know what Nurhaci presumably really taught, we have to refer to the entries in the *JMZD*, which in many cases show notable differences from the "Teachings". In fact, of the 93 "Teachings" of the KH/QL *Shilu*, only 43 are found in the M, and only 21 in the *JMZD*: this is a difference of 72 teachings which source has not yet been found—and this means that *at present* only ~22,5% of the "Teachings" could be considered original (and part of *original* Manchu literature). Professor Walter Fuchs, the doyen of European Manchu studies, was therefore right when he asserted that the "Teachings" do not have the special value we would expect in consideration of their age and origin.[4]

Table of Concordances

The sources available for the compilation of this concordances and their pages are quoted according to the following editions/reprints:

JMZD	(Jiu Manzhou dang): Ch'en Chieh-hsien [Chen Jiexian] 陳捷先 (ed), *Jiu Manzhou dang* 舊滿洲檔, I–X, Taipei 1969.
MWLD	(Manwen laodang): N. Kanda, K., Okamoto, J. Matsumura, H. Ishibashi, H. Okada: *Manwen laodang* [*Manbun rōtō*] 滿文老檔 / *Tongki fuka sindaha hergen-i dangse / The Secret Chronicles of the Manchu Dynasty 1607–1637 A.D.*, I–VII, Tokyo 1955–1963.
M	(Manzhou Shilu 滿洲實錄 [Manju-i yargiyan kooli]) are quoted according to the romanized edition by Imanishi Shunjū 今西春秋, *Chūon Manshū jitsuroku* 注音滿洲實錄, Kyōto 1938, after having been checked with the original trilingual edition and compared with the W (*Wuhuangdi Shilu* 武皇帝實錄。。。 [*Daicing gurun-i Taizu Horonggo Enduringge Hūwangdi-i yargiyan kooli*]) according to the facsimile edition by the same author,

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[4] A bilingual manuscript of the first 1655 version of the Teachings in two chapters, existing in the 1930ies in the *Neige daku*, is reported to be almost identical with the texts of the W *Shilu* of 1636. This manuscript was never published and nothing is known about its present whereabouts. See Fang Susheng 方甦生 in *Wenxian congbian* 文獻叢編 26/1 (1937), quoted on p. 26 in W. Fuchs, "Neue Beiträge zur mandjurischen Bibliographie und Literatur", *Monumenta Serica* VII (1942), 1–37.

	in "Tōhōgaku kiyō 東方學紀要/Monumenta Orientalia," 2 (1967) Oyasato Research Institute, Tenri University, pp. 175–273.
KH-QL	(Kangxi period's revised Shilu-version) and QL (Qianlong period's revised Shilu-version) are quoted according to the parallel edition by Imanishi Shunjū 今西春秋, *Taikō Shin Taiso jitsuroku* 對校清太祖實錄, Tenri 1973.

Abbreviations:

AF	Abkai Fulingga (1616–1626)

Full Manchu title:

Daicing gurun-i Taizu. abkai hese be alifi forgon be mukdembuhe. gurun-i ten be fukjin ilibuha. ferguwecuke gungge. gosin hiyoošungga. horonggo enduringge. šu be iletulehe. doro be toktobuha. genggiyen erdemungge. ambalinggū kengse. ginggun elhe. dergi hūwangdi-i enduringge tacihiyan.

UJUI DEBTELIN

abka be ginggulehengge **[Honoring Heaven]**	JMZD	MWLD	M	KX–QL
AF-i ilaci aniya. suwayan morin. anagan-i duin biyai sahaliyan morin inenggi.	–	–	–	158
ineku inenggi.	–	–	–	161
AF-i ningguci aniya. šahūn coko. aniya biyai niowanggiyan bonio inenggi.	–	–	248	239
duin biyai sahaliyan bonio inenggi.	–	–	–	262
nadan biyai šanggiyan singgeri inenggi.	–	–	–	271
AF-i juwan emuci aniya fulgiyan tasha. aniya biyai sohon coko inenggi.	–	–	–	338
enduringge-i hiyoošun **[Divine Filial Piety]**				
AF-i uyuci aniya. niowanggiyan singgeri. duin biyai niowanggiyan bonio inenggi.	–	–	314	315
ferguwecuke horon **[Wonderful Majesty]**				
sahahūn meihe aniya. uyun biyade.	–	–	66	58
sahahūn ihan aniya. aniyai biyai sohon honin inenggi.	–	–	115	105
AF-i ilaci aniya. suwayan morin. duin biyai šahūn ihan inenggi	173	83	148	143
AF-i duici aniya. soho honin. ilan biyai ice de niowanggiyan bonio inenggi.	269	119	178	177
mergen bodogon **[Outstanding Strategy]**				
niowanggiyan bonio aniya. duin biyade.	–	–	34	32
niowanggiyan bonio aniya ninggun biyade.	–	–	39	35
niohon coko aniya juwe biyade.	–	–	45	40
sahaliyan singgeri aniya juwan biyade.	–	–	110	99

	JMZD	MWLD	M	KX–QL
AF-i duici aniya, sohon honin. ninggun biyai šahūn coko inenggi.	443	156	209	202
AF-i jakūci aniya, sahahūn ulgiyan. sunja biyai niohon honin inenggi.	1489	758	301	302
onco gosin **[Generous Benevolence]**				
niowanggiyan bonio aniya uyun biyade.	–	–	43	38
sahahūn meihe aniya uyun biyade.	–	–	74	64
šahūn ihan aniya. aniya biyade.	–	–	87	77
AF-i ilaci aniya. suwayan morin. duin biyai sahaliyan tasha inenggi.	189	89	154	149
AF-i duici aniya. sohon honin. nadan biyai fulgiyan morin inenggi.	459	170	217	208
juwan biyai šahūn honin inenggi.	490	196	231	223

JAI DEBTELIN

dasan-i doro be leolehengge **[Discussions on State Government]**				
AF-i sucungga aniya. fulgiyan muduri. aniya biyai sahahūn coko inenggi.	–	–	–	130
fulgiyan singgeri inenggi.	–	–	–	132
ineku inenggi.	–	–	–	134
ilan biyai fulgiyan singgeri inenggi.	–	–	–	134
AF-i ilaci aniya suwayan morin. anagan-i duin biyai sahaliyan morin inenggi.	–	–	–	162
ineku inenggi.	–	–	–	163
AF-i juwan emuci aniya. fulgiyan tasha. aniya biyai sohon coko inenggi.	–	–	–	339
geren wang sabe tecibuhangge **[Teachings to All Princes]**				
niohon gūlmahūn aniya omšon biyade.	138	60	136	125
AF-i ningguci aniya. šahūn coko. duin biyai sahaliyan bonio inenggi.	–	–	–	263
ineku inenggi.	–	–	–	265
ineku inenggi.	–	–	–	266
nadan biyai šanggiyan singgeri inenggi.	–	–	–	272
niowanggiyan singgeri inenggi.	–	–	–	280
ineku inenggi.	–	–	–	281
AF-i juwanci aniya. niohon ihan. duin biyai šanggiyan singgeri inenggi.	1883	970	325	325
AF-i juwan emuci aniya. fulgiyan tasha. nadan biyai niohon ulgiyan inenggi.	–	–	–	365
geren ambasa be tacibuhengge **[Teachings to All Dignitaries]**				
niohon gūlmahūn aniya. sunja biyai šanggiyan indahūn inenggi.	–	–	–	117
AF-i ilaci aniya. suwayan morin anagan-i duici biyai sahaliyan morin inenggi.	–	–	–	159
AF-i ningguci aniya. šahūn coko. sunja biyai sahaliyan tasha inenggi.	–	–	–	268

	JMZD	MWLD	M	KX–QL
ineku inenggi.	–	–	–	269
ineku inenggi.	–	–	–	269
nadan biyai šanggiyan singgeri inenggi.	–	–	–	275
niowanggiyan tasha inenggi.	–	–	–	276
ineku inenggi.	–	–	–	276
ineku inenggi.	–	–	–	277
AF-i juwan emuci aniya. fulgiyan tasha. ilan biyai fulgiyan morin inenggi.	–	–	341	347

ILACI DEBTELIN

	JMZD	MWLD	M	KX–QL
gurun be dasahangge **[Governing the Empire]**				
niohon gūlmahūn aniya. ninggun biyade.	97	45	130	119
AF-i duici aniya. sohon honin. duin biyai fulgiyan muduri inenggi.	426	144	203	197
AF-i ningguci aniya. šahūn coko. ilan biyai sahahūn ulgiyan inenggi	–	–	276	260
AF-i nadaci aniya. sahaliyan indahūn. ilan biyai sohon ulgiyan inenggi.	–	–	295	296
AF-i juwanci aniya. niohon ihan. ilan biyai sohon coko inenggi.	–	–	322	323
ujulaha ambasa de afabuhangge **[Duties of Chief Ministers]**				
AF-i jakūci aniya. sahahūn ulgiyan. aniya biyai suwayan indahūn inenggi.	–	–	297	298
AF-i juwanci aniya. niohon ihan. jakūn biyai sahaliyan muduri inenggi.	–	–	–	332
niyalma be baitalahangge **[Employment of People]**				
niohon gūlmahūn aniya. omšon biyade.	129	56	134	123
ineku inenggi.	135	59	135	125
ineku inenggi.	326	66	137	126
AF-i sucungga aniya. fulgiyan muduri. sunja biyai šanggiyan morin inenggi.	–	–	–	135
AF-i ningguci aniya. šahūn coko. nadan biyai šanggiyan singgeri inenggi.	–	–	–	273
ineku inenggi.	–	–	–	274
sijirhūn gisun be baihangge **[Requesting Honest Words]**				
sahahūn ihan aniya. aniya biyade.	–	–	121	108
AF-i sucungga aniya. fulgiyan muduri. aniya biyai fulgiyan singgeri inenggi.	–	–	–	133
bithei dasan be yendebuhengge **[Making Civil Administration Prosperous]**				
sohon ulgiyan aniya juwe biyade.	–	–	82	71
tacihiyan wen be wesihulehengge **[Esteeming Teaching and Culture]**				
AF-i duici aniya. sohon honin. ninggun biyai fulgiyan muduri inenggi.	–	–	–	199
šanggiyan muduri inenggi.	–	–	–	227

	JMZD	MWLD	M	KX–QL
AF-i ningguci aniya. šahūn coko. nadan biyai niowanggiyan tasha inenggi.	–	–	–	276
niowanggiyan singgeri inenggi.	–	–	–	283
AF-i jakūci aniya. šahahūn ulgiyan. juwe biyai niohon ihan inenggi.	–	–	–	300
ninggun biyai niowanggiyan indahu\n inenggi.	–	–	–	305
dasara kimcire be sithūhangge **[Concentrating on Careful Checks]**				
AF-i ningguci aniya. šahūn coko. nadan biyai niowanggiyan singgeri inenggi.	–	–	–	281
malhūn kemungge **[Frugal Economy]**				
niohon gūlmahūn aniya omšon biyade.	130	57	135	124
erun be ginggulehengge **[Careful Treatment of Criminal Procedures**				
AF-i jai aniya. fulahūn meihe. uyun biyai sahahūn ulgiyan inenggi.	–	–	–	141
AF-i ningguci aniya. šahūn coko. sunja biyai sahaliyan tasha inenggi.	–	–	–	267
fejergi be gosihangge **[Loveful Treatment of Subordinates]**				
AF-i ningguci aniya. šahūn coko. anagan-i juwe biyai sahahūn honin inenggi.	–	–	253	243

DUICI DEBTELIN

	JMZD	MWLD	M	KX–QL
niyalmai mujilen be bargiyahangge **[Preserving the People's Heart]**				
AF-i juwanci aniya. niohon ihan. jakūn biyai niohon coko inenggi.	1914	981	330	328
AF-i juwan emuci aniya. fulgiyan tasha. sunja biyai fulahūn meihe inenggi.	–	–	348	353
ninggun biyai suwayan tasha inenggi.	2082	1079	352	358
fejergi gūnin be hafumbuhangge **[Comprehending the Subordinates' Thoughts]**				
AF-i sunjaci aniya. šanggiyan bonio. ninggun biyai šanggiyan indahūn inenggi.	543	236	244	235
fafun kooli be getukelehengge **[Explaining Laws and Statutes]**				
AF-i sucungga aniya. fulgiyan muduri. nadan biyai sohon meihe inenggi.	–	–	–	137
AF-i duici aniya. sohon honin. juwe biyai niohon gūlmahūn inenggi.	–	–	–	173
AF-i nadaci aniya. sahaliyan indahūn. juwe biyai sahaliyan morin inenggi.	1020	534	291	292
AF-i jakūci aniya. sahahūn ulgiyan. ninggun biyai fulahūn ulgiyan inenggi.	–	–	306	307
AF-i juwan emuci aniya. fulgiyan tasha. nadan biyai niohon ulgiyan inenggi.	–	–	–	366

	JMZD	MWLD	M	KX–QL
***julge be kimcihangge* [Investigating Ancient Times]**				
AF-i juwan emuci aniya. fulgiyan tasha aniya biyai sohon coko inenggi.	–	–	–	340
***gungge be šangnahangge* [Rewarding Merits]**				
AF-i ningguci aniya. šahūn coko. nadan biyai sahaliyan tasha inenggi.	708	349	280	275
***akdun be iletulehengge* [Manifesting Fidelity]**				
AF-i sunjaci aniya. šanggiyan bonio. aniya biyai fulgiyan bonio inenggi.	–	–	241	233
***jirgacun sebjen be targabuhangge* [Avoiding Idleness]**				
AF-i ningguci aniya. šahūn coko. nadan biyai niowanggiyan singgeri inenggi.	–	–	–	281
***buyen amuran be olhošohongge* [Watching out Against Desire]**				
AF-i ningguci aniya. šahūn coko. sunja biyai sahaliyan tasha inenggi.	–	–	–	270
AF-i ningguci aniya. šahūn coko. nadan biyai niowanggiyan tasha inenggi.	–	–	–	278
ineku inenggi.	–	–	–	279
AF-i juwanci aniya. niohon ihan. jakūn biyai sahahūn meihe inenggi.	1922	1079	352	358

■ Source: Di Cosmo, Nicola, 'Competing strategies of Great Khan legitimacy in the context of the Chaqar-Manchu wars (c. 1620–1634)', in David Sneath (ed.), *Imperial statecraft: Political forms and techniques of governance in Inner Asia, sixth-twentieth centuries*, Bellingham: Center for East Asian Studies/Western Washington University for Mongolia and Inner Asia Studies Unit, University of Cambridge, 2006, pp. 245–263.

COMPETING STRATEGIES OF GREAT KHAN LEGITIMACY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CHAQAR-MANCHU WARS (*C.* 1620–1634)

Nicola Di Cosmo

The strategies by which aspiring imperial rulers cultivated the political legitimacy they required constituted a key feature of Inner Asian statecraft. A discussion of the paths followed by ruling elites to consolidate their power is directly relevant to an aspect of the Manchu conquest of China that has attracted relatively little scholarly attention and to date remains to be fully investigated, namely, the ideological side of the political and military confrontation between the Manchu leaders Nurhaci (1616–1626) and Hong Taiji (1627–1643), and the Chaqar leader Ligdan Khan (1592–1634).[1] The conflict lasted from approximately 1620 to the death of Ligdan in 1634 and, as it unfolded, many eastern and southern Mongol leaders decided to throw their lot in with the Manchus. The pro-Manchu development of the political situation in Mongolia has been regarded as critical to enhancing the Manchus' ability to wage war on China for several reasons. First, several Mongol peoples had previously served the Ming in an anti-Manchu role, especially in the military protection of border towns.[2] Second, the situation of political chaos that was endemic among the six 'myriarchies' of the Mongols (*tumens*) reached critical proportions as a consequence of the brutal wars waged by Ligdan, and produced economic pressures on the Manchus as Mongol refugees streamed into Manchu-controlled territory. Third, Mongol leaders often violated treaties and pacts made with the Manchus, and raided Manchu and Chinese settlements under Manchu rule, thus contributing to insecurity and civil unrest in Liaodong and other areas that were essential to the economic stability of the Manchus. Fourth, Mongol allies constituted a natural and much-needed reservoir of troops to replenish the Manchu army, which was overextended as it fought against China and Korea. Overall, considering the situation from a strategic and political standpoint, given the need to unify the Mongols and pacify the region, it stands to reason that it would have been impossible for Nurhaci and Hong Taiji to proceed with their military campaigns against China without having first eliminated the military threat constituted by the Chaqars.

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[1] The most comprehensive study of Ligdan Khan, to my knowledge, is Heissig 1979.

[2] The various Mongol political and ethnic groups that resided in southern Mongolia are traditionally referred to as 'tribes'. This term would only inadequately translate the Mongol terms *tumen* and *ulus*. *Tumen* (or *tümen*) means traditionally 'ten thousand' and as such has been translated as 'myriarchy'. However, its meaning in the sixteenth century was different from what it had been at the time of Chinggis Khan, and more akin to 'people' or 'nation'. 'Nation' has also been used to translate the Mongol term *ulus* ('people'), which is a common way of referring to a specific politically significant grouping, such as the Khorchin or the Chaqar. Either word, 'people' or 'nation', may be more adequate than 'tribe' to represent the reality of discrete but fluid groups with a recognized political elite, real or fictional kin and ancestral ties, and territorial cohesion. In general, I have used 'nation' to indicate a specific group, and 'people' as a more generic term, to indicate all of those who regarded themselves as ethnically Mongol, whether they participated in the political process of a Mongol 'nation' or not.

Such a threat materialized with the rise to power of Ligdan Khan, since his ambition to unify all the Mongol nations tribes is well known and supported by several sources, such as Ligdan Khan's long letter to Nurhaci of November 27, 1619, in which he presented himself as the Khan of the 'forty Mongol *tumens*' (Weiers 1979: 73–91). Historians generally agree that Ligdan's project to reunify the Mongol peoples and to recreate a Mongol empire was under way by then, continued for over ten years of wars and political upheaval, and was ultimately foiled by the Manchus, who undermined Ligdan's hegemonic plan by luring to their side various Mongol leaders.[3]

An argument recently made by Johan Elverskog regarding the condition of the Mongol politics in the aftermath, and because of, Altan Khan's rule, requires mention (Elverskog 2003: 3–20). According to Elverskog the divisions among the political entities of the eastern Mongols are to be attributed to a political process initiated by Altan Khan that placed the locus of political authority with the various descendants of Dayan Khan who headed the '*tumens*' (a socio-political unit similar to a principality and often translated as 'tribe', deriving nominally from the military units of 10,000 men created by Chinggis Khan). The political reorganization of the Mongol tribes that Dayan Khan operated in the mid-fifteenth century led to the creation of six such *tumens* divided into a right (western) and a left (eastern) wing, nominally under the authority of the Chaqar Khan.

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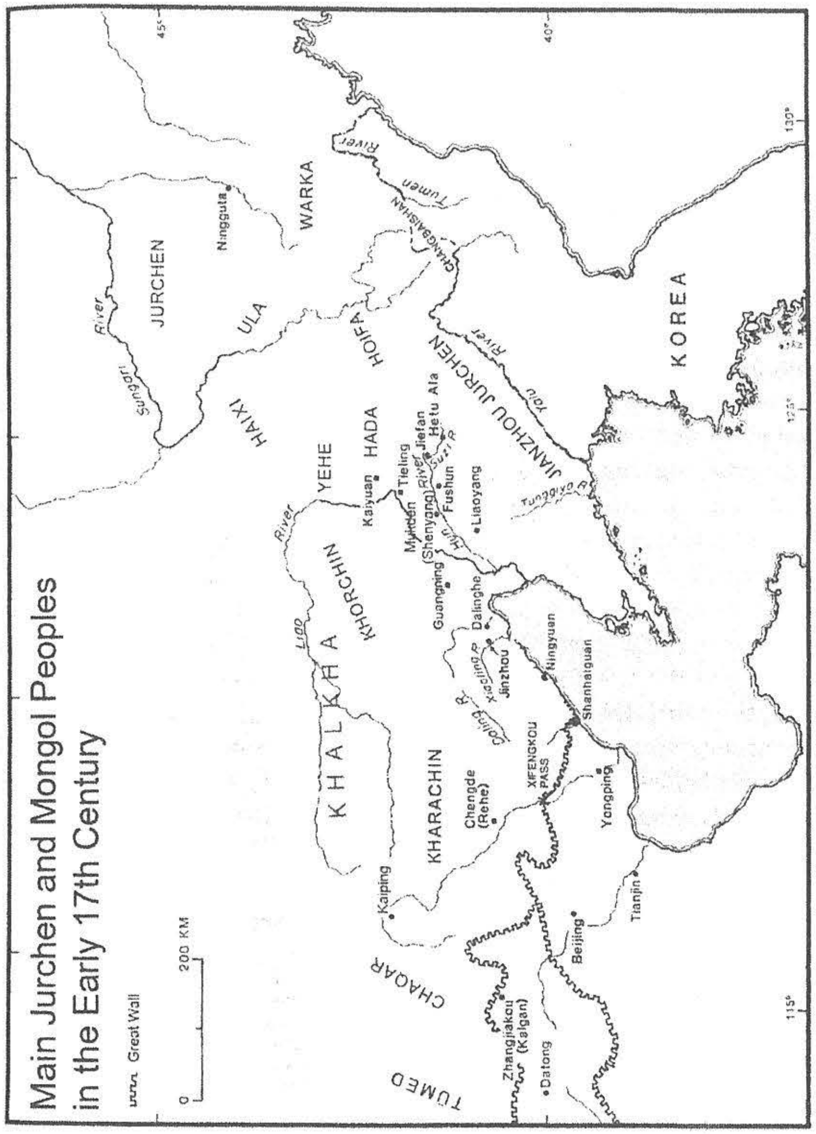
[3] Recent works have endorsed this explanation. See Crossley 1999: 210–12. N. Ishjamts, representing a Mongol historiography tendency, claims that Ligdan's attempt at re-unifying the Mongol tribes was hindered by the activities of the Manchus, who lured to their side some Mongol tribal leaders dissatisfied with Ligdan's rule, or would not accept it, such as Ooba, chief of the Khorchin; see Ishjamts 2003: 214–16.


Main Jurchen and Mongol Peoples in the Early 17th Century
Great Wall
0
200 KM
JURCHEN
WARKA
ULA
HOIFA
HAIXI
YEHE
HADA
JIANZHOU JURCHEN
KHORCHIN
KHALKHA
KHARACHIN
CHAQAR
TUMED
KOREA
Sungari River
Liao River
Tumen River
Yalu River
Ninggutai
Kaiyuan
Tieling
Mukden (Shenyang)
Fushun
Hetu Ala
Jiefan
Liaoyang
Guangning
Dalinghe
Jinzhou
Ningyuan
Shanhaiguan
XIFENGKOU PASS
Chengde (Rehe)
Yongping
Kaiping
Tianjin
Beijing
Zhangjiakou (Kalgan)
Datong
45°
40°
115°
125°
130°

According to Elverskog there is evidence that Altan Khan legitimated the independent political existence of the various *tumens*, thus subtracting them from the overarching power of the Chaqars. This tendency towards localization of political power, in turn, favoured the independent alliances forged in a piecemeal fashion between each Mongol unit and the Manchus. Ligdan Khan's dream of re-creating a Mongol empire, therefore, was made impossible by the actual context of post-Altan Khan Mongol politics, which led to deep-rooted divisions and to a fragmentation of political power across the eastern Mongols.

There is no doubt that political divisions existed among the Mongols, but to consider this a situation that was either accepted by everyone, or that could not be overcome and reversed by means of a centralizing political effort is another matter, for which there is no evidence except for the failure of Ligdan Khan to unify the Mongols. Yet, it would be a tautological argument which would, in the last instance, state that the Mongols could not be unified (by Ligdan or other leader) because they were divided and local political power had become more entrenched. The tension between centripetal and centrifugal forces represents the very essence of Inner Asian politics, and one cannot say that the dislocation of the locale of political authority could, in itself, put an end to this dialectical process.

More critically, we should have to explain why the various Mongol leaders would reject Ligdan's authority, whose political model and prerogatives in many ways they shared and partook in, but would accept the alien authority of the Manchus, whose centralizing project was no less threatening to their local authority. Finally, we need to account for Ligdan's own agency. Accepting the argument that the southern Mongols could not be united in a single project would make him a quixotic and possibly delusional pursuer of long-gone imperial dreams. There is no evidence, however, to support that notion. Ligdan is presented in the sources as a leader of stature, respected and feared, and his own actions and political program cannot be beyond the reach of historical analysis when it comes to explaining his rivalry with the Manchus and ultimate defeat. The question raised by the documents, instead, is whether the means of Ligdan's ascendancy, and in particular the brutality of his campaigns, were adequate to support his political project.

Ligdan's bid for power began, in effect, as an open challenge to the newly-born Manchu independent state of the Latter Jin dynasty. Its immediate effect, directly and indirectly, was to increase, rather than reduce, the southern Mongols' ability to resist the potential attraction constituted by the Manchus. Nurhaci frequently protested the Mongol leaders' lack of commitment to pacts and treaties.[4] In addition, Mongol troops were used by the Ming dynasty to protect border towns; Mongol refugees entered Manchu-held territories, causing economic and social tensions; and there was competition between Mongols and Manchus for access to border markets.[5]

As Nurhaci (Khan of the Jin regime) and Ligdan (Khan of the Chaqar nation) became strong regional political centres, they began to compete actively for the allegiance of less prominent Mongol chiefs. Competition between two rival leaders, both of whom aspired to take their people towards a higher degree of political centralization, is by no means unique in the history of steppe politics.[6] On the other hand, the situation at hand presents important specific features.

First, we have a *Mongol* leader pitched against a *Manchu* leader. The sources are not always clear about ethnic and political identities, but they refer repeatedly to perceived differences between Mongols and Manchus. Sometimes they might admit or point to similarities in customs or language, but the consciousness of belonging to two discrete groups (we can also call them ethno-political entities, or even 'nations', if we wish) is clearly there and, albeit sometimes accentuated and sometimes consciously obfuscated, it was present in the political discourse (Li 2002: 31; Elliot 2001: 68–69).

Second, we should stress that the political projects of the two centres do not appear to have been intended to extend beyond their own ethnopolitical constituencies. Ligdan Khan did not lay claim on the Manchu people who were under Nurhaci's rule. Nurhaci and to a certain extent also Hong Taiji, almost throughout the time of the Chaqar wars, presented no claims to become the leaders of all the Mongol nations as such. The Manchu leadership's main goal was to win over some Mongol tribes (individually taken) as allies in their war against the Ming.[7] Kinship ties and diplomacy were used to promote the notion that the Mongol nobles who decided to side with the Manchus did so out of their own free will, and generally speaking retained a great deal of independence.[8] We should therefore properly frame the competition between Ligdan and Nurhaci not as a competition between two players within a single process of political centralization, or 'empire-building', but rather as competition between two discrete and distinct centralizing projects.

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[4] A litany of complaints against the Jaruts is documented in Kara (1970: 17–23).

[5] In addition, the cities of Datong and Xuanfu provided the Mongols with a payment in gold. See Veit 1986: 399; Dalizhabu 1997: 303.

[6] Hajiwara Junpei compares the political thought of Nurhaci and Ligdan, reaching the conclusion that their ideas were completely antithetical, in that Ligdan wanted to create a 'purely nomadic' state. See Hajiwara 1969: 103.

[7] For instance, in the oath between the Manchus and the Kharachin of 1628 there is a strong anti-Ming rhetoric. See Kanda, et al. 1955–1963: IV, 122–24; Di Cosmo and Bao 2003: 52–53; Weiers 1996.

At the end of a prolonged and bloody 'arm-wrestling' match, Ligdan found himself isolated, on the run, and once he died, in 1634, his son Erke-qonggor-eje and other pro-Chaqar leaders surrendered to the Manchus (Hummel 1943: 304). Why did Ligdan's project fail? Why was he not able to constitute a large union of the nobility of the southern Mongol nations? To say that his plan was foiled by Manchu competition simply serves to open these questions; it surely does not answer them.

We need to consider one reason that is often mentioned to explain Ligdan's defeat, namely, that he lost support among the Mongol tribes because of his excessive love for war and arrogant temperament.[9] Indeed, in correspondence sent by Mongol leaders to Hong Taiji and Nurhaci, Ligdan is regularly referred to as the 'Evil Qaghan', the 'Black Qaghan', and other less than appreciative epithets (Di Cosmo and Bao 2003: 85, 111, 147). He is described as overly enamored of violence, a cruel man. Therefore let us, for the sake of argument, consider the statement, amply supported by the sources, that Ligdan Khan's drive to be recognized as the 'supratribal' leader of the Mongol nation was unsuccessful because his violent nature scared away the majority of his potential supporters.

As we attempt to analyze this statement, we need to consider some historically documented facts. First, the anti-Ligdan's statements came from Ligdan's enemies, who were corresponding with and seeking help from yet another of his enemies, the Manchus. In point of fact, Ligdan was, by all accounts, an able, if not particularly merciful, military leader. As such, he managed to impose his rule over a large number of Mongols (Weiers 1973). More importantly, Ligdan presented himself as the most appropriate leader for all Mongols. As a direct descendant of the Chinggisid line, he had the correct genealogical credentials (Okada 1991). Equally important

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[8] For a list of marriages contracted between Mongols and Manchus, see Jagchid (1986: 68–87).

[9] According to Gertraude Roth Li, 'Ligdan's unpopularity among the Mongols led to his downfall and to the loss of Mongol independence.' See Li 2002: 18.

were his association with and support of the Tibetan Buddhist elite, built on pre-existing relationships forged by Altan Khan, which also appeared to uphold the political tradition of a unified Mongol empire.

These traits of Ligdan's political persona can be configured as significant ingredients of Ligdan's claim to imperial power. The genealogical link between Ligdan and Chinggis Khan was uncontested in Ligdan's own time, even by his enemies. Religious validation came from his support of Tibetan Buddhism, and in particular his sponsorship of the gigantic project for the translation of the Buddhist *Kanjur* in 1628–29. Mongolian intellectuals, such as Guoshi Corji, closely identified Mongolian history with the advancement of Buddhism and the spread of the Buddhist faith. The identification of Chinggis Khan as a *cakravartin* and of Altan Khan as a *dharmaraja* created a secular-monarchic tradition that continued with Ligdan Khan, who also is addressed, among other flattering things, as a *dharmaraja* in the colophons of the *Kanjur* (Mostaert 1956: 21–29). These colophons, never erased by the Manchu rulers in later editions (including the woodblock one), greatly praise Ligdan Khan for finishing the translation of the work into Mongolian (Bira 2002: 163–68). The Mongol-Tibetan notion of secular-religious kingship goes back, as we know, to the thirteenth century, and by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century had become a major component of Mongol political doctrines (Franke 1978: 52–76; Sagaster 1976: 22–49 and *passim*).

As for Ligdan's excessive 'love' for war and violence (*Kriegslust*), there is evidence that not everyone disapproved of Ligdan's recourse to war. Mongol aristocrats such as the Ordos leader Sagang Sechen apparently approved of the violence on the grounds that Ligdan inflicted it on those who 'broke the law' (Mostaert 1956: 27). Not an unusual argument, this is still especially interesting in the sense that it reveals a possible expectation, by Ligdan and his supporters, that Ligdan's bid for an imperial power that resided in the Chinggisid tradition established by Chinggis Khan and his successors had the validity of the law, and therefore could be imposed on others as a 'law' whose violators, therefore, invited a rightful punishment.

A number of historically relevant questions derive from these premises. Faced with an expansive and imperialist power in the east (the newly-born Manchu regime), why did the scattered and relatively weak Mongol nobles not accept more readily Ligdan's leadership? Why did Ligdan's carefully constructed political persona as universal ruler and Khan of all Mongols fail to win over more substantial Mongol support? Why did Ligdan have to apply what was perceived as excessive violence to the political process, thus expending military force and political capital that could have been used instead to fight the Manchus?

II

In order to answer these questions I would like to consider at this point the possibility that, as we compare the Manchu and the Mongol projects of political unification, we are facing two different models of imperial legitimation. In other words, we are not simply looking at two processes that proceeded separately (and eventually on a collision course with each other); we are also looking at two different ways of attempting to achieve comparable political goals.

In contrast to Ligdan's model of 'Chinggisid inheritance', the central notion of Manchu political legitimation is the doctrine of heavenly approval. Heaven-approved legitimacy was attained by couching victory in war in terms of an event favoured by Heaven. On many occasions Nurhaci addresses his Mongol counterparts by inviting them to look at his track record, by claiming heavenly support, and then by expressing surprise at others' reluctance to acknowledge the fact. There is a rational argument in this, namely, the Mongols are invited to back Nurhaci because that is in their best interest. Backing a ruler on the basis of his track-record is a rationally justifiable choice (Kanda, et al. 1955–63: III, 1083–84).

War and violence, in this discourse, are the unwelcome consequence of other people's benighted insistence to oppose or challenge Heaven's will and to refuse to acknowledge divinely granted charisma. In practice, however, validation of political charisma does not have to result in pure and simple submission. On the contrary, from the Manchu-Mongol correspondence we can see that transgression of norms, and even betrayal of a pact, did not result in automatic punishment.[10] Moreover, the rituals of alliance, with their shamanistic invocations, animal sacrifices, and oaths to the ancestors, emphasize, at least in appearance, the formally equal standing of the two parties. As we know, Nurhaci and Hong Taiji engaged in a lengthy series of alliances and oaths with Mongol nations. It was a frustrating process whereby the terms of the alliance had to be constantly renegotiated. Yet the process as a whole conformed to the notion that

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[10] As an example of a denunciation that did not carry an automatic punishment (although it did carry a threat), see Di Cosmo and Bao (2003: 56–58).

charismatic leadership had to undergo social validation before it could attain political legitimation. Validation could not occur without addressing the leader's capacity to respond satisfactorily to the needs, beliefs, and aspirations of the social and political basis from which acceptance of the charismatic leader had to emanate, namely, the aristocracy.

The far more ideological route taken by Ligdan was based on completely different premises. He claimed a preexistent right to charismatic, supratribal leadership, based on political and religious genealogies. Hence, the entire process of social validation was short-circuited, and such a glaring violation of established norms produced political opposition. At this point, a greater amount of violence had to be applied to win people over. This reasoning, in my view, describes the bloodthirstiness attributed to Ligdan by his enemies more accurately than a purely psychological explanation.

We should also add that the Manchus' involvement with Tibetan Buddhism was incomparably less grandiose than Ligdan's. It was only in 1635 that Hong Taiji erected the Temple of Mahakala at Mukden, a far more open endorsement of Tibetan Buddhism than any pronouncement or gesture preceding it. This has been attributed to the changed political circumstances, and in particular to the destruction of the Chaqar regime, which caused the transfer of allegiance of the Saskya lamas from Ligdan to Hong Taiji (Grupper 1984: 52). At the same time, the famous appropriation of the seal of the Yuan dynasty by Hong Taiji after the defeat of Ligdan and the surrender of his son was celebrated as a sign that the Mongol nation, having been defeated, could no longer be united, and, therefore, as a symbolic passage of Mongol *imperium* into the Manchu hands.[11]

Since the two main underpinnings of Ligdan's legitimacy were appropriated by the Manchus only after the destruction of the Chaqar khanate, it is obvious that there was no direct challenge to Ligdan's claims during the period of hostilities. This glaring discrepancy underscores the fundamentally different approaches adopted by the Manchu leadership and by Ligdan Khan to the question of establishing legitimacy to rule over the eastern and southern Mongols. The first was based on a gradual process that was primarily political and diplomatic, and aimed at incorporation of the Mongol aristocracy within the Manchu 'conquest elite'.[12] The second was predominantly ideological, and rooted in Ligdan's affirmation of a traditional right—as a descendant of Chinggis Khan—to rule over the Mongols, and in the support obtained from the Buddhist hierarchies.

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[11] For the story of the transmission of the seal, and Hong Taiji's proclamation, see Kanda, Matsumura and Okada (1975: II, 250–59, 360).

[12] For a description of the Manchu 'conquest elite', see Pamela Crossley (2002).

III

So far we have described the ways in which Ligdan and the Manchus tried to win over Mongol aristocrats, but we have not addressed the problem of how 'charisma' should be defined and applied to our analysis. While I am fully cognizant of the difficulties inherent in any attempt at defining 'charisma', I believe it is still worth attempting to define the ideological differences between the Manchus and Ligdan by resorting to this slippery and yet powerful concept.[13]

The theory of charismatic power goes back to Max Weber's definition of the sources of political authority, together with traditional and bureaucratic (Weber 1978: 241–54). It has been discussed at length in the sociological, historical, political, and anthropological literature. Based on this discussion, which I cannot claim to have surveyed exhaustively, I would like to comment on a few points that I regard as particularly significant to the definition of charisma in our historical context.

It seems to me that the notion of charisma 'as the basis for an explanation of social change' as defined by Friedland (1964: 19) is particularly relevant. Weber says that *charisma has to be socially validated*, and even though the 'gift of grace' that marks the charismatic leader is divine and does not require external confirmation, it cannot exist without external validation, that is, without the widespread recognition of its presence. This definition fits rather well the charismatic manifestations of the Manchu rulers and their painstaking search for consensus based on the actual *deeds* of the ruler and *needs* of the people. Nurhaci had correctly identified the Mongol aristocracy as the social basis that would eventually 'validate' or 'legitimate' his political project if he intended to pursue it beyond the Manchu 'body politic', that is, the royal clan and the allied nobility of the Jurchen nations of southern Manchuria. The incorporation of the Mongol tribes within the Manchu project could not be done *purely by military means* or by relying exclusively on a mandate originating from within the Manchu elite. The intense marriage diplomacy vis-à-vis the Mongol aristocracy undertaken by the Manchu leadership, especially after 1616, aimed to close the gap between perceived ethnic differences by creating kinship clusters that rendered ethnic boundaries politically less significant or at any rate easily bridged. This operation can be seen as essential to the creation of a single kin-based ruling elite.[14]

Ligdan's recourse to genealogy, history, and religious symbols, on the other hand, reveals the assumption that the ideological principles underpinning his political project (the Chinggisid legacy) were shared by the Mongol aristocracy, that is, the political referents for any process of unification. However, Ligdan's appeal to the Chinggisid legacy and his bid to unify the Mongols into a new empire do not seem to have been supported by a substantial portion of the Mongol aristocracy.

Let us also recall, in connection with the notion of external validation, that charismatic power emerges always in phases of deep social change. The charismatic leader's important function is to make a given society accept potentially traumatic changes occurring in the process of transition from one social order to another. Trust in a divinely-endowed individual and in his promise for a better order allows society to accept change without questioning the many and often scary uncertainties connected with change. This makes it possible to promote social change while limiting political opposition, social disruption, and generalized violence.

The notion of transition from a loose community of 'peoples' and 'nations' ruled by noble families to a bureaucratic state, many times debated in relation to various 'steppe empires', can be applied to fit the transformation of Jurchen society under Nurhaci and Hong Taiji.[15] On the other hand, it cannot be applied to Ligdan's attempt to forcibly unify the Mongol nations, since Ligdan's conquest was not accompanied by a transformation of the state that could be seen as overcoming the inter-Mongol divisions by incorporating discrete political entities into new structures and institutions. His military and commercial activism did not anticipate a new social order, and the political promise was not elaborated, as far as I can see, beyond the return to a semi-mythical imperial grandeur. If we compare Ligdan's attempted rise to power with Chinggis Khan's own rise to universal emperor, we see that Chinggis Khan had indeed managed to prefigure a new social order, and that the path to state building resembled much more closely the Manchus' than Ligdan's route. The argument becomes even more cogent when we consider that the Manchus could have invoked an imperial precedent, namely, the one offered by the Jin dynasty, but that precedent never played a substantial role in the day-to-day rhetoric of legitimation. The Jurchen legacy acknowledged by adopting the name of the dynasty (Jin) in 1616 is not emphasized as an absolute precedent or a mandate-producing legacy.

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[13] In Mongol, the concept of 'charisma' can be found in words such as *qutugh* (and derivatives such as *qutughtu* and *qutughtai*), and in expressions such as *tenggeri-eche jaya 'atu*, that is, 'ordained by Heaven'. The first term is etymologically relate to Turkic *qut/kut* and to Manchu *huturi*, and means fortune, luck, blessing or even 'majesty'. There is a vast literature on this topic. The issue of charisma at the time of Chinggis Khan has been investigated by T.D. Skrynnikova (1997). She interprets the words *sülde* ('might', 'good fortune', 'spirit'), *suu* and *suu jali* (both meaning 'distinction', 'superiority') to mean 'charisma' (pp. 149ff.).

[14] For Hong Taiji's personal participation in the marriage diplomacy, see Matsumura (1972: 55–76).

[15] For a recent discussion in relation in particular to the Mongol empire, see Biran (2004a: 339–61).

Another concept related to the Weberian definition of charismatic power is that of 'release'. The release from 'custom, law, and tradition' that charismatic power promotes was initially understood by Weber as an unchecked vehicle of freedom necessary to realize revolutionary changes. In the later essays, however, he came to connect the grace of charisma with an ethic of responsibility, in the sense of accountability to the social and political forces of one's age. Therefore, charisma was no longer seen as a purely emotional force, disjointed from social responsibility; to the contrary, charismatic leaders have 'to clarify both the means necessary to achieve their stated ends and the consequences to be anticipated in connection with these ends' (Dow 1978: 92). Restraint becomes, in this interpretation, a necessary corrective to any form of unchecked release, which otherwise would be like a political albatross, a bird that 'not having any opportunity to rest, would have no ultimate meaning at all' (Dow 1978: 89).

Here again we can find differences between the Manchus and Ligdan. The Manchus had already undergone, in 1620, a basic process of rationalization of charisma, as the nascent state acquired a more clearly contoured bureaucratic—legal shape (Linke). The Manchu aspiration to imperial power appears to reflect this concept of charismatic legitimacy in terms of a release from tradition that remains nevertheless accountable and socially responsible. By addressing the Mongol disunity in terms of crisis (Ma. *facuhun*, that is 'disorder', 'chaos'), and linking the solution of the crisis to the process of transformation of Manchu society—of which the integration of the Mongol aristocracy into the Manchu army is one of the prime examples—the Manchu rulers could easily support the claim that they were not only able, but in fact 'fated' to solve the crisis. On the other hand, Ligdan's ideological definition of charismatic legitimacy, supported by inherited right and military might, does not allow room for a notion of restraint in the sense described by Max Weber.

Let us next turn to the question, asked by Martin Spencer: 'What makes a charismatic leader charismatic?' (Spencer 1973). Martin Spencer answers this question in terms of 'mastery' and 'representation'. Through the mastery of fate and the demonstration of world-ordering capacities, the leader inspires reverence and awe. Charisma through mastery brings order; charisma through representation brings *satisfying* order. To be successful, representation has to address the ideals of the followers. If we look at Nurhaci and Hong Taiji's relationship with Mongol chieftains, we see that they addressed the fundamental anxieties of a society that was being turned upside down: they offered the Mongols laws, protection, and a share of power in the promised expansion of the Manchu state. On the other hand, Ligdan, by presenting himself as a chosen king, addressed a religious dimension that, though important, does not appear to have played a predominant role in the emotional space shared by the Mongol body-politic—especially among the southern Mongol nations—at the historical time of Ligdan's rise.

IV

The charismatic leadership promoted by Ligdan Khan differs dramatically, in its representation, attributes, and historical construction, from the model of charismatic leadership to which the Manchu leaders Nurhaci and Hong Taiji seem to aspire. Although we are supposedly, on the surface, looking at a similar phenomenon, that is, the construction of 'supratribal' political entities through the coalescing of discrete political groupings around a single leader, the processes were quite radically different.

Ligdan Khan's approach to gaining legitimacy was preeminently ideological. Through recourse to Chinggisid ideology, Ligdan sought support for his political project in historical, genealogical, and religious forms of political legitimation. Chinggisid ideology had become particularly powerful in southern Mongolia in the sixteenth century, surely helped by the Mongolian aristocracy's sponsorship of Tibetan Buddhism. This form of legitimation is tied to inherited right (genealogy), historical cults, religious investiture, and symbols of power carrying with them a set of meanings that bring recognition and power. Indeed, one definition of charisma is that of 'sacred or revered essence deposited in objects or persons' (Spencer 1973: 352). This phenomenon, that is, this ideological construction of charisma, is in my view a relatively new phenomenon in Inner Asian history, and one that characterizes especially the southern Mongol political doctrines from the mid-sixteenth century onwards.

The Manchu approach to Mongol politics is, on the other hand, of a more traditional kind. The political moment—not the ideological one—appears to dominate, and is characterized by sustained recourse to mediation and diplomacy, by mastery of the strategic issues involved in policy making, and by flexibility in the relations within the leader's own community as well as with rival or allied centers of power. Building alliances, establishing marital relations, making treaties, sharing power over certain rights that would otherwise be seen as regal prerogatives (distribution of wealth, for instance), and relying often on a language of equal status in political relations, not to mention the reluctant use of force, are some of the elements that can be regarded as formative in the process of *social validation* of a charismatic leader.

This way of reasoning can provide some insights in the accusations of cruelty and bloodthirsty behaviour levelled at Ligdan Khan by Mongol aristocrats. Violence that is devoid of social validation can only appear as *Kriegslust*, as the natural passion for war by a particular individual, not as the price that society as a whole pays to overcome a crisis or move to a different and presumably more satisfactory social order. The Manchu leaders, in their relations with Mongol nobles, justify the use of violence in two ways: as punishment for those who are in breach of an agreement, or as retaliation, that is, as a right to self-defence. The Manchu rulers, beginning with Hong Taiji, assumed the trappings of imperial Mongol rulers, from their ties with Tibetan Buddhism to other forms and symbols of imperial legitimation that can be traced back to the Yuan dynasty. But this was a later process, which *confirmed* the Manchu charismatic legitimation and enshrined it in imperial garb, but did not play a role in the incorporation of the Mongol nations south of the Gobi.

Ligdan's hegemonic claim, based as it was on an ideological formulation of inherited right and representation of a political community of 'imperial and Buddhicized Mongols' that remained in my view largely abstract and detached from the far more important political level represented by kinship, and the economic and military considerations that affected every portion of Mongol society at that time. The genealogical right to succession as Great Khan, the support of Tibetan Buddhism, the claim to universal rulership, and the language of Heaven-appointed imperial leadership all conjured the existence of a community of people who, sharing that vision, automatically placed themselves in a position of subordination.

But if the conditions of subordination were challenged, or people did not share that vision, the result would be war as the only remaining way to extract consensus.

By accusing Ligdan of being cruel and excessively violent, the Mongol leaders were *de facto* rejecting the ideological bases of Ligdan's claim of charismatic power. At this point we may consider the possibility that the very recourse to the Chinggisid imperial legacy and its historical transformation consequent to its intertwining with and being shaped by Buddhist theories of political legitimation may have stunted the creative political process inherent in the doctrine of charismatic legitimation. An interesting question to ask, in conclusion, would be whether Ligdan Khan had a different choice, that is, whether his hegemonic claim could have been formulated without invoking the Chinggisid legacy. By assuming the existence of an imperial legacy to be fulfilled without having first justified the need for political unification through the process of charismatic legitimation, Ligdan was reforming the political process in a way that was not acceptable to Mongol society. The Manchus did not make any imperial legacy, be it Jurchen, Mongol or Chinese, central to their expansionist and hegemonic policy. Piecemeal construction of the political institutions of the state, and pragmatic approaches in internal and foreign policy prevailed, showing the true essence and deep-seated influence of the Inner Asian political traditions associated to the rise of Qing imperial power.

■ Source: Durrant, Stephen W., 'Folklore motif and the portrayal of Nurhaci in the Manchou Shih-lu', in *Manchu Studies Newsletter*, No. 3 (1979–80), pp. 5–22.

FOLKLORE MOTIF AND THE PORTRAYAL OF NURHACI IN THE *MAN-CHOU SHIH-LU*

Stephen W. Durrant

It has long been known that the most sober historical writings of traditional China must be used with considerable caution. In two important articles, Professor Herbert Franke has shown that even the official dynastic histories are influenced by cosmological speculations and, more importantly for our study here, by legendary motifs which gravitate to historical personages and define their personalities according to certain traditional categories.[1] One of these categories, that of the bad last ruler who destroys his dynasty through debauchery and drunkenness, has been discussed in several scholarly articles.[2] Another famous category which has been studied somewhat less is that of the heroic founder of a new dynasty. Such heroes often caught the popular imagination and became the subjects of fiction and drama where folklore mingled freely with historical fact.[3] Yet, even in official histories, the influence of the folklore imagination appears, bearing witness to the extraordinary character of the founder and thereby giving his new dynasty the stamp of legitimacy. An interesting example of the persistence of this influence in Chinese historical writing is provided by the official account of Nurhaci, the Manchu chieftain who laid the foundation for the last dynasty of China and was known posthumously as Ch'ing T'ai-tsu, "The Grand Ancestor of the Ch'ing Dynasty." Fortunately, we possess more official historical material for Nurhaci than for any other dynastic founder. Among these sources, the *Man-chou shih-lu* "The Veritable History of the Manchus" (hereafter, *MCSL*) has been chosen as the basic source for the following study. Before proceeding to our study, this choice of the *MCSL* requires a word of justification.

The *MCSL* was completed in the 46th year of the Ch'ien-lung Emperor (1781). Although the text is trilingual, with parallel versions in Manchu, Chinese and Mongolian, there is good reason to believe that the Manchu text is primary.[4] This historical source deals specifically with the rise of the Manchus and the reign of Nurhaci. As such, its date of completion is later than two other extant *Shih-lu* which also narrate the events of

Nurhaci's life. A *Shih-lu* for Nurhaci's reign was first completed during the reign of his son Abahai in 1635. Unfortunately, this text has been lost,[5] but revised editions from the Shun-chih period (1644–1661) are preserved both in Peking and in the National Palace Museum in Taipei under the title *Wu huang-ti shih-lu* "The Veritable Records of the Martial Emperor."[6] Further revisions of this work continued throughout the K'ang-hsi period and culminated in the *Kao huang-ti shih-lu* "The Veritable Records of the Lofty Emperor", which was published in the Ch'ien-lung 4th year (1736).[7] In an impressive study of the available *Shih-lu* for Nurhaci's period, Professor Ch'en Chieh-hsien has reached the somewhat surprising conclusion that the Ch'ien-lung 46th year *MCSL* shows less influence of sinicization than either the Shun-chih or Ch'ien-lung 4th year *Shih-lu* editions. It is possible that the *MCSL* is based upon the Abahai text which was still available at the time of its compilation.[8] In Ch'en's own words, "I conclude that as to written records or pictures, the *MCSL* is the best source for Manchu Ch'ing materials. Even though the book dates from Ch'ien-lung 44 to 46, this edition gives us the best access to the earliest materials."[9]

Consequently, all episodes pertaining to Nurhaci discussed in this paper are drawn from the Manchu text of the *MCSL*. Since this text is a long one, totaling over 1,600 pages, the material presented in this paper comes exclusively from the first two volumes (Chinese *chüan*). These volumes cover the events from the mythical origin of the Manchus up to the year 1599 when Nurhaci was 40 years old.

The *MCSL* begins with the story of the birth of Bukūri Yongšon, the legendary founder of the Manchu State. According to this story, which is a montage of folklore motifs,[10] Bukūri Yongšon was born to a fairy maiden who conceived by swallowing an apple which had been brought to her by a bird while she was bathing with her sisters.[11] Her child is able to speak at birth,[12] and, after being instructed by his mother of his future greatness, he is placed in a small boat and abandoned.[13] He floats down a river and comes to rest at a ford near the place where several tribal chieftains are contending for political hegemony. He gets out of his boat and makes a small throne of twigs on which he is soon discovered and accepted as a leader by these contending chiefs.[14]

The narrative then moves quickly through the generations from this original ancestor to the birth of Nurhaci who brings the Manchu State to power and to the doorstep of China.[15] The account of Nurhaci's birth as found in the *MCSL* is less miraculous than those of most dynastic founders. Only two unusual events are connected with his birth: first, he was carried by his mother for thirteen months,[16] and second, at his birth a "wise man" (*sara niyalma*) utters a prophecy of his future greatness, a common folklore motif which appears throughout the world.[17]

Although a detailed comparative study of the lives of dynastic founders would be highly instructive, it is beyond the scope of this study to undertake such an ambitious project. Nevertheless, several examples might be given to indicate the pervasiveness in Chinese official histories of accounts concerning the miraculous conception or birth of dynastic founders.

According to Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Shih-chi*, the mother of Liu Pang, the founder of the Han Dynasty, conceived as she dreamed that she encountered a god. At the same time, her husband saw "a scaly dragon over the place where she was lying."[18] When Sui Wen-ti was born, "a purple vapor filled the courtyard," and a Buddhist nun immediately prophesied of his future greatness. Wen-ti's mother was startled to see "a horn coming out of the top of his head and scales appearing all over his body."[19] At the birth of the future founder of the Liang Dynasty in 852 AD, the neighbors saw a red vapor above his parent's home and assumed that their hut was burning down,[20] a story which also appears in connection with the birth of Chu Yüan-chang, the founder of the Ming Dynasty.[21] Similarly, when Chao K'unag-yin, who established the Sung Dynasty, was born, a red light and a strange fragrance pervaded the area around his house. The wonderful baby had a body of a pure golden color which only faded after several days.[22] The mother of the founder of the Liao Dynasty conceived when she dreamt that the sun fell into her bosom. As in the case of Chao K'uang-yin, her son's birth was accompanied by a "divine light" and a "marvelous fragrance," and his body at birth was like that of a three-year-old.[23] The birth of A-ku-t'a, the founder of the Chin Dynasty, was predicted by an astrologer who saw a five-colored cloud over the area where the dynastic founder was to be born.[24] And finally, the famous story concerning the conception of the widowed mother of the founder of the Yüan dynastic line reads as follows: "One night as A-lan was sleeping inside her tent, she dreamt that a light came from heaven and entered her window. It transformed into a golden god who came and reclined upon her bed. A-lan was startled and awoke; she was consequently found to be pregnant."[25]

As these accounts indicate, strange omens and prophecies often accompany the conception and birth of dynastic founders. In addition, the hero often possesses an unusual physiognomy which sets him apart from others.[26] Several such examples are seen in the accounts summarized above. The *MCSL* describes the child Nurhaci as follows:

> His complexion was like clear jade, and he had buddha ears and phoenix eyes.[27] His speaking voice was distinct and clear; once it was heard, it would not be forgotten. He was immediately recognized when seen.[28]

Nurhaci's mother dies when he is ten-years-old, and the theme of the cruel stepmother appears. His conflict with his stepmother becomes so extreme that his father makes a separation of property and allows his son to leave home.[29] Later, Nurhaci's father and grandfather are killed by Chinese troops led by the villainous Nikan Wailan. By the age of twenty-three, Nurhaci has become an orphan hero who is motivated by a desire to avenge his father's murder.[30]

C.M. Bowra has written that "a hero differs from other men by his peculiar force and energy."[31] In episode after episode of the *MCSL*, Nurhaci's astounding physical prowess is revealed. On once occasion he charges four hundred enemy troops alone and fights with such ferocity that the enemy withdraws in disorder.[32] On another occasion, Nurhaci's small army of eighty men shrinks from joining battle with an eight-hundred-man Jecen army. The *MCSL* records Nurhaci's anger at a compatriot's cowardice and his own subsequent bravery:

> Having seen these troops, Jacin Sangguri, the grandson of Boolanggi, the fifth ancestor of Nimalan, became afraid. He removed the clothing that he wore and caused that it be put on another. After this, Taidzu the Wise Prince said, "Truly you are strong among brothers or among people of the village, but when you have seen all the troops you are frightened, and, casting off your armor, you put it on another!" Then he himself seized the banner, and, as he went forward, the enemy troops engaged him without moving back at all. Consequently, Taidzu the Wise Prince dismounted from his horse and drove the horse back away from him. Taidzu the Wise Prince himself, his younger brother Murhaci, and Yambulu and Uringga of his household, the four of them, went forward on foot. Shooting arrows, struggling with power, attacking with ferocity, they cut down as many as twenty of the enemy and defeated eight hundred soldiers. Since those eight hundred soldiers could not endure the power of the four men of Taidzu the Wise Prince, they fled and trampled into the water of the Hunehe River at Jaifiyan.[33]

Nurhaci's martial prowess is further shown by his skill in archery. He is an example of the "mighty archer" so common in world folklore.[34] There are several episodes which illustrate his skill as an archer. Perhaps the most astounding is the following:

> While he (Taidzu) was sitting in the wilds waiting, a man wearing a quiver at his waist and riding a horse passed in front of the Wise Prince. Taidzu saw this and asked the officials at his side who this man was. They reported, "There is no one more skilled in archery than this one among the tribes of the place of southern Donggo. This one who is skilled in archery is named Niowenggiyen." After they reported this, he had someone call out to him saying, "Shoot!" Thereupon, Niowenggiyen got down from his horse and came over, bringing his bow and arrows. When Taidzu had Niowenggiyen shoot at a willow tree that was in front of him, of five arrows that he shot, three struck at the top or bottom and two missed. Taidzu the Wise Prince himself took five arrows, and, when he shot, each one struck a single place. When they went and examined them, the five arrows had penetrated the tree within a single span. They got those five arrows out only be hacking a slash in the tree. That willow tree was more than one hundred paces from the place where they shot.[35]

It should be noted in passing that the motif of the mighty archer also appears in conjunction with A-ku-t'a, the founder of the Chin Dynasty and one of the Jurchen ancestors of the Manchus. In the "Basic Annals" of A-ku-t'a found in the *Chin Shih*, the following account appears:

> At the age of ten he (A-ku-t'a) became fond of archery, and by the time he had become a young man, he was a skilled archer. One day a Liao emissary sat in a government building and looked out upon T'ai-tsu. In his hand he held a bow and arrows. When he was made to shoot three arrows in a row at a flock of birds, each one made a hit. The Liao emissary was startled and said, "This is an exceptional boy." T'ai-tsu once attended a banquet with the Huo-li-han clan of the He-shih-lieh tribe. As they were strolling outside the gate, they looked toward the south at a high mound. All were made to shoot at it, but none were able to reach it. T'ai-tsu shot once and the arrow went over it. They measured where it landed, and it was 320 paces.[36]

Nurhaci's personal strength and energy are also illustrated by his incredible bravery in the face of personal pain. On one occasion he fights on despite having an arrow shot through his chest. Book One of the *MCSL* ends with an episode that fits a common hero motif that is described by Stith Thompson as "bleeding wounds don't stop the hero:"[37]

> Taidzu the Wise Prince himself climbed to the top of a house and, riding astride its ridge pole, shot people inside the city. As he was so doing, Taidzu's head was struck by an arrow that was shot by a man by the name of Orgoni who was inside the city. His helmet was broken and the flesh pierced one inch deep. Taidzu the Wise Prince pulled the arrow out and, blocking off the inside of the chimney, shot that very arrow at the enemy as he fled. His two thighs were struck through and he fell together with the arrow. Although the blood from the wound on Taidzu's head had flowed until it reached the soles of his feet, he still fought on without pulling back.[38]

The traditional hero is one of great physical strength and skill, but he is certainly not above using guile to achieve his ends.[39] Several examples of

Nurhaci's trickery appear in the *MCSL*. In one episode he tricks an enemy army into disarming itself. Once the enemy soldiers, who mistakenly believe that they have become an ally, are completely disarmed, Nurhaci's men attack and slaughter them all.[40] Elsewhere, Nurhaci feigns a retreat before the city walls of Cigide. Then he and several of his men hide in the smoke created by some homes that they have burned down outside the city wall and ambush the enemy troops as they are lured from the city.[41]

In all the episodes discussed so far, whether acts of strength or guile, there is no hint of supernatural help. Nurhaci is portrayed neither as a magician nor as a constant recipient of overt divine aid. However, there are two very similar episodes in the first book of the *MCSL* where Heaven does intervene in Nurhaci's favor. The first episode is as follows:

> In the first month of the summer of that year, after Taidzu the Wise Prince had lain down one night, he heard the noise of a man outside. He made his children hide, seized his bows and arrows and hung his sword at his side. Then he caused his wife to go out to the outhouse and he hid himself behind her. Having become like a single person, he went as far as the western chimney. After his wife had acted like she had gone to the outhouse, he sent her into the home while the Wise Prince himself stayed behind. But, since the sky was exceedingly dark, he could not see at all. When he stood up, the bandit came in and walked up to the chimney. Lightning flashed in the sky and in the light of the lightning Taidzu the Wise Prince saw that the bandit had come near. He struck him down with his sword and summoned the men of his house.[42]

We might be tempted to dismiss this fortuitous flash of lightning as nothing more than luck, one of those historical episodes analogous to the *kamikaze* that saved Japan from the Mongols or the "divine wind" that blew the Spanish Armada off course, but to prevent such a conclusion, the author moves immediately to the narration of another episode where lightning comes to Nurhaci's aid:

> In the middle month of summer, when Taidzu the Wise Prince was lying down one night, a woman of the household sat at the stove lighting and extinguishing a lantern. She had not lain down at all. Taidzu the Wise Prince thought, "Why does this woman for no reason sit there without lying down? This thing appears suspicious." He got up from the place where he lay, put on his short armor inside and a woman's robe on the outside, hung his sword at his side and seized his bows and arrows in his hand. Acting like he was going outside to the outhouse, he came out from the house, and, standing near the chimney, he saw something that resembled a human head a bit higher than the fence at a gap at the side of the courtyard gate. Since it was dark when he looked more closely, he did not see it again. While he stood, having put his arrow to the bowstring, again lightning flashed in the sky, and in the light from the lightning, he saw that the bandit had come near. When he shot the arrow he had loaded, the bandit bent down and the arrow struck and pierced the clothing on his shoulder. The bandit then ran away, and, when Taidzu the Wise Prince pursued him with haste and shot again, the two feet of the bandit were shot through and he fell. Having beat him dizzy with the back of his sword, he seized and bound him.[43]

The author plainly intends us to associate these two episodes; not only are they put one after another in the narrative, but he surely has the first episode in mind when he tells us that the lightning flashed "again" (*geli*).[44]

As these episodes concerning the miraculous intervention of lightning on Nurhaci's behalf indicate, the supernatural does occasionally appear in official Chinese historical writings. Arthur Wright, for example, has noted that certain official biographies of prominent Buddhists contain more supernatural events than the Buddhist hagiographies of the *Kao-seng chuan*.[45] However, in the case of Nurhaci and dynastic founders in general the supernatural element is introduced as a testimony of the hero's special status or in support of his endeavors. The actions of the hero himself, although they seem incredible, are accomplished by human, or at most suprahuman abilities and not by the possession of magical powers.[46] As such, they are fully in accord with Bowra's description of the hero of heroic poetry: "A hero differs from other men in the degree of his powers. In most heroic poetry these are specifically human, even though they are carried beyond the ordinary limitations of humanity."[47]

The *MCSL* account of Nurhaci's life clearly shows the imprint of the folklore imagination. In his study of Moses, Sir James Fraser speaks of "the miraculous features which gather round the memory of popular heroes, as naturally as moss and lichens gather around stone."[48] Even the soberest accounts of the past, when dealing with figures who have appealed to the popular imagination, attract and assimilate material rich in folklore and mythic content, until "the distinction between history and tradition has thereby blurred to such an extent that its existence is barely recognized."[49] This conclusion is not meant to impugn the usefulness of the *MCSL* as a historical source. However, it is critical that it be used with a full awareness of the forces and ideas that have shaped the narrative. One of those forces which pervades all official Chinese historical writing is, of course, the desire to establish a legitimate succession (*cheng-t'ung*).[50] And the legitimacy of the dynastic founder is enhanced by promoting him to the level of a traditional hero whose life reflects many of the features which the human mind attributes to men of such lofty stature.

Notes

1. "Some Random Notes on Fact and Fancy in Chinese History," *Oriens Extremus* 22, 1975, pp. 1–9; id., "Some Remarks on the Interpretation of Chinese Dynastic Histories," *Oriens* 3, 1950, pp. 113–122.

2. Ibid., pp. 117–119; Arthur F. Wright, "Sui Yang-Ti: Personality and Stereotype," *The Confucian Persuasion*, ed. by Arthur Wright, Stanford 1960, pp. 47–76; and, also dealing with a related theme, Herbert Franke, "Chia Ssutao (1213–1275): A 'Bad Last Minister'?" *Confucian Personalities,* ed. by Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, Stanford 1962, pp. 217–234.

3. See Robert Ruhlmann, "Traditional Heroes in Chinese Popular Fiction," *The Confucian Persuasion*, pp. 159–160.

4. See the arguments of Imanishi Shunjū in *Manju-i yargiyan kooli*: *Man-wa taiyaku*, Tokyo 1939, p. 9, and especially of Uehara Hisashi in *Mambun manshū jitsuroku no kenkyū*, Tokyo 1960, pp. 24–25. I have summarized the latter's conclusions in "Repetition in the Manchu Origin Myth as a Feature of Oral Narrative," *Central Asiatic Journal* XXII:1–2, 1978, p. 33. The Chinese and Manchu versions are frequently at minor variance. Many repetitious phrases found in the Manchu are deleted in the Chinese, particularly in the account of the Manchu origin myth. The significance of these deletions is discussed in my *CAJ* article. Recently, Ch'en Chieh-hsien has noted that some of these repetitious phrases were a part of the early editions of Nurhaci's *Shih-lu* but were deleted in later editions. See *Man-wen ch'ing shih-lu ven-chiu*, Taipei 1978, p. 48.

It is useful to consult both the Manchu and Chinese texts because one is often more explicit than the other. For example, *emgeri jihe de ere golo be manabuki* "Since we have already come, let us bring this place to defeat" is the equivalent of a somewhat more explicit Chinese sentence which reads, "Since I have already raised troops and come here, we ought to take advantage of this in order to pacify an area." *Man-chou shih-lu (MCSL) K'ai-kuo shih-liao*, Taipei 1969, p. 193. Elsewhere the Manchu is more detailed than the Chinese: *ini beye be fujin de daldafi emu niyalma gese obufi* "Having hidden himself behind his wife, they became like a single person" is expressed in Chinese simply as "He hid himself behind his wife."

The Mongolian version follows the Manchu text more closely than does the Chinese. The structural resemblances of the two languages permit an almost direct word-for-word correspondence. However, at times the Mongol contains a phrase or word with no equivalent in the Manchu. When the magpie first appears, bringing the fruit to the bathing girl Fekulen, the Mongolian specifies that the bird is "transformed from Heaven" *tngri-dača qubilyan*, a phrase that does not appear in the Manchu (p. 7). Elsewhere, to give another example, the Manchu says that Nurhaci "went" (*genefi*) while the Mongolian uses the more specific verb *morilaju* "went on horseback" (p. 206). Thus, a thorough study of the *MCSL* should take all three versions into account.

5. See Ch'en, *Man-wen*, pp. 35–37.

6. For a clear discussion of this text and its editions, see Ch'en, *Man-wen*, 5–54 and 166–167 (fn. 19) and his two unpublished articles "Notes on Manchu Text Versions of the Ch'ing Emperors' *Shih-lu*," (Prepared for the 21st meeting of PIAC, 26–30 June, 1978, Manchester, England) and "The Origin and Value of the *Man-chou shih-lu*," (Prepared for the International Ch'ing Archives Symposium, 2–5 June, 1978, Taipei).

7. It is this text which appears in the standard *Ta-ch'ing lich'ao shih-lu* "Veritable Records of the Successive Reigns of the Ch'ing Dynasty."

8. Ch'en suggests that the 1635 edition of the *Shih-lu* perished in a fire in 1797 that destroyed part of the imperial palace. *Man-wen*, p. 37.

9. Ch'en, "The Origin and Value," p. 25.

10. The origin story is translated and discussed in my *CAJ* article cited above.

11. The motif of "Miraculous conception from eating fruit" is number T511.1 in Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, Bloomington 1956. Also see Thompson's motifs B291.1 "Bird as Messenger" and T523 "Conception from bathing."

12. Thompson motif T585 "Precocious infant."

13. Thompson motif R131 "Exposed or abandoned child." The theme of the abandonment of a child in a boat is discussed in Donald B. Redford, "The Literary Motif of the Exposed Child," *Numen* 12–14, 1965–1967, pp. 109–228.

14. Thompson motif L111.2.2 "Future hero found on shore." The episode with the willow chair seems to be related to L111.2.3 "The future hero found on top of a tree" and to D1156 "Magic throne."

15. In the course of this narrative there is a very interesting passage about a descendant of Bukūri Yongšon named Fanca. This story explains why the magpie is a totem animal among the Manchus (*MCSL*, pp. 24–32):

> When several generations had passed, the later sons and grandsons were oppressing the people of the state. Therefore, the people rebelled and beseiged the Odoli City in the sixth month. While they were slaughtering the clan of Bukūri Yongšon, a boy named Fanca who was a descendant of Bukūri Yongšon, came out of the city and fled into the barren wilderness. As the enemy troops were pursuing, a divine magpie came in flight and lit upon the head of that boy named Fanca. The pursuing troops wondered, "Does a magpie light on a person? Perhaps it is a dried branch" and returned back to the city. Thereupon, Fanca got away. Because of this, the children and grandchildren of the Manchus in later generations would not kill a magpie, considering it an ancestor.

This is a variant of the theme of the "Animal rescuer or retriever," Thompson, B540.

16. This is considerably shorter than the world record seventy-two year pregnancy of Lao-tzu's mother. For the latter see *Shen-hsien chuan, Han-wei ts'ung-shu,* Vol. 30, ed. by Wang Mo, 2a.

17. On the birth of Nurhaci see *Man-chou shih-lu*, pp. 66–67. For further examples, see Thompson, M311 "Prophecy: future greatness of unborn child," and M311.4 "Prophecy: unborn child to become king."

18. This translation of the *Shih-chi* account is from *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, Vol. 1, Translated by Burton Watson, New York 1961, p. 77. The story is repeated in *Han shu*, "Annals," 1A:1b–2a. This and all references to the dynastic histories come from *Pai-na pen erh-shih-ssu shih* (1937; reprint, Taipei: Commercial Press, 1976).

I have purposely excluded from this discussion those emperors such as Shen Nung and Huang Ti who belong entirely to the realm of myth. For an interesting discussion of the miraculous conceptions and births of such mythic figures as these, see Joseph Campbell, *The Hero With a Thousand Faces*, (1968; reprint, Princeton, Bollington Paperback, 1972), pp. 314–318.

19. *Sui shu*, "Annals," 1:1a–1b.

20. *Chiu wu-tai shih*, "Liang shu," "Basic Annals," 1:1b.

21. *Ming shih*, "Basic Annals," 1:1a.

22. *Sung shih*, "Basic Annals," 1:1b–2a.

23. *Liao shih*, "Annals," 1:1a.

24. *Chin shih*, "Basic Annals," 2:1a.

25. *Yüan shih*, "Basic Annals," 1:1a–1b.

26. This is particularly common in the Chinese tradition. See Ruhlmann, "Traditional Heroes," pp. 150–151.

27. In the Ming Dynasty pictorial encyclopedia *San-ts'ai t'u-hui* there is a drawing of "Phoenix eyes" with the note that such eyes bring "Intelligence and wisdom with merit and fame to follow." One who has such eyes is said to stand "Above the common, excelling multitudes, surpassing the many heroes." Ed. by Wang Ch'i (1607; reprint, Taipei, 1970), 7:16a. Kuan Yü, the great Chinese hero of the Three Kingdoms Period, is said to have had

"phoenix eyes." See Ruhlmann, "Traditional Heroes," p. 151. The Manchu term "Buddha ears" (*fucihi šan*) is simply rendered "big ears" in the Chinese. Apparently big ears are a common sign of a hero in the Chinese tradition. According to the *Hou-Han shu*, Liu Pei's ears were large, so that he was once scolded by Lü Pu as "the big-eared child." See *Hou-Han shu*, "Lieh chuan," 65:24b. It is of interest to note that the description of Chang Fei in the *San-kuo yen-i* is similar to the *Man-chou shih-lu* description of Nurhaci. The former also has phoenix eyes, big ears, and a jade-like countenance. See *San-kuo yen-i*, chap. 1.

28. *MCSL*, pp. 68–69.

29. Thompson, S31. The episode is found in the *MCSL*, pp. 71–72.

30. On the very intriguing name Nikan Wailan, see Ch'en Chieh-hsien, "'Ch'ing-tai ming-jen chuan lüeh' P'ing-i," *Ch'ing-shih tsa-pi*, Vol. 2, Taipei 1977, pp. 12–13.

The account of the death of Nurhaci's father is found in *MCSL*, pp. 98–112. That revenge becomes an important motive for Nurhaci's subsequent behavior is stated specifically in *MCSL*, p. 120: "To get revenge for his grandfather and father, he began to attack Nikan Wailan with the thirteen suits of armor left behind by his father." On the motif of the orphan hero, see Thompson, L111.4.

31. "The Hero," *The Hero in Literature*, ed. by Victor Brombert, New York 1969, p. 26.

32. *MCSL*, pp. 212–215. As Bowra notes, the battlefield is the showplace of the hero's strength: "In all countries he has abundant, overflowing, assertive force, which expresses itself in action, especially in violent action, and enables him to do what is beyond ordinary mortals. This is commonly displayed in battle, because battle provides the most searching tests not merely of strength and courage but of resource and decision." Ibid., pp. 26–27.

33. *MCSL*, pp. 228–231.

34. Thompson, F638. Liu Pei is also a skilled archer who amazes the Han emperor by shooting a fleeing hare with a single shot. See *San-kuo yen-i*, chapter 20. The episode is translated by Moss Roberts, *Three Kingdoms: China's Epic Drama*, New York 1976, p. 17.

35. *MCSL*, pp. 267–272.

36. *Chin shih*, "Basic Annals," 2:1b.

37. Thompson, H1507.

38. *MCSL*, pp. 195–198. The same type of story appears in the Chinese *Tso chuan*. As translated by James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. 5, Hong Kong 1961, p. 345, it reads as follows: "On Kuei-yu, both the armies were drawn up in array at An. The charioteer of the marquis of Ch'i was Ping Hsia, with Feng Ch'ou-fu as spearman on the right. Hsieh Chang was charioteer to Hsi K'e, with Cheng Ch'iu-huan as spearman on the right. The marquis said, 'Let me exterminate those, and then I will take my breakfast.' With this he galloped forward, without having his horses covered with mail. Hsi K'e was wounded by an arrow, till the blood ran down to his shoes, but he never let the sound of the drum cease." In the *San-kuo yen-i*, Kuan Yü refuses to withdraw on one occasion despite a serious wound (chapter 20; see Roberts, pp. 232–233). As we would expect, several of the motifs found in the *MCSL* are also a part of the historical romance *San-kuo yen-i*. It should be noted parenthetically that the latter was extremely popular among the Manchus. See S. Durrant, "A Note on the Translation of Chinese Historical Romances into Manchu and Mongolian," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 1, 1979, pp. 273–274.

39. Bowra, p. 27.

40. *MCSL*, pp. 131–135.

41. *MCSL*, pp. 191–192.

42. *MCSL*, pp. 163–166.

43. *MCSL*, pp. 169–174.

44. In my *CAJ* article I discussed examples of repetition in the Manchu origin myth. There, I was concerned with the narrative technique of repeating the key events of a single story for purposes of emphasis. In the case of the last two episodes quoted above, we have an example of two slightly variant stories carrying and thereby emphasizing a single theme. This tendency to pair similar stories appears to be a structural characteristic of the *MCSL* narrative and deserves full study elsewhere.

45. "Biography and Hagiography: Hui Chiao's *Lives of Eminent Monks*," *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun-Kagaku-Kenkyusyo*, Kyoto 1954, p. 385.

46. Ruhlmann, "Traditional Heroes," p. 153, notes that this is true also in most Chinese "heroic fiction."

47. "The Hero," pp. 24–25.

48. *Folklore in the Old Testament*, Vol. III, London 1919, p. 97.

49. Lord Raglan, *The Hero*, Westport 1956, p. 205.

50. See Lien Sheng-yang, "The Organization of Chinese Official Historiography," *Historians of China and Japan*, ed. by W.G. Beasley and E.G. Pulleyblank, London 1961, p. 47.

Source: Swart, Paula and Till, Barry, 'Nurhachi and Abahai: Their palace and mausolea; the Manchu adoption and adaptation of Chinese architecture', in *Arts of Asia*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (May–June 1988), Arts of Asia Publications Limited (www.artsofasia.com), pp. 148–157.

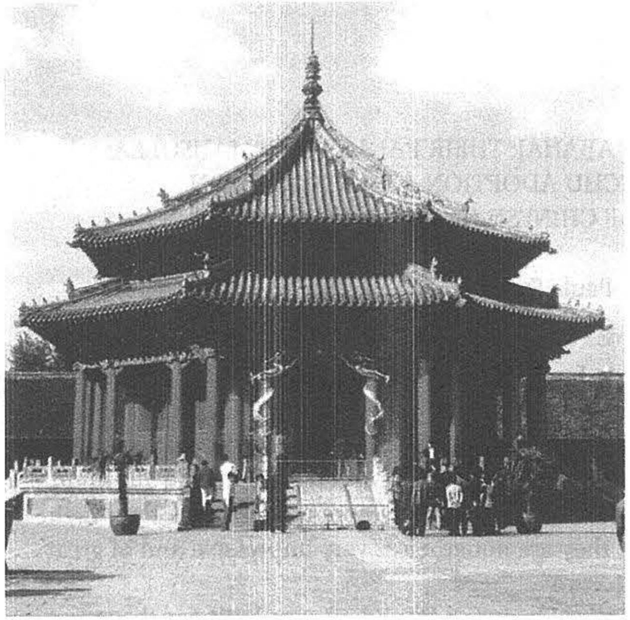
NURHACHI AND ABAHAI: THEIR PALACE AND MAUSOLEA; THE MANCHU ADOPTION AND ADAPTATION OF CHINESE ARCHITECTURE

Paula Swart and Barry Till

The Ming tombs and the Imperial Palace in peking are world renowned, but the only other magnificent ancient palace still existing in China and the mausolea of the early Manchu rulers, which are located in Shenyang, Liaoning province, in north-east China, have received very little attention. Although the Shenyang sites are on a much more modest scale than their counterparts in Peking, they are nonetheless very impressive and of great historical significance.

The palace in the city of Shenyang (Mukden) was built for the rulers of a nomadic steppe people living in northeast China, who came to be known as the Manchus. The Manchu state was created in the early seventeenth century by a nomad chieftain named Nurhachi (1559–1626).

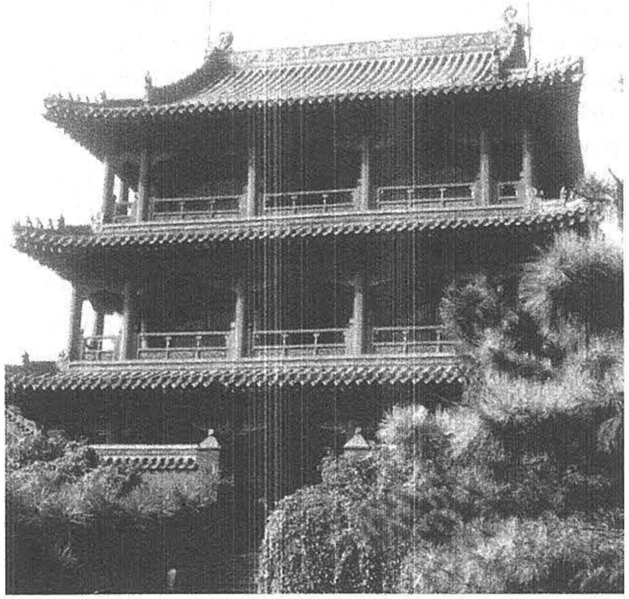
Nurhachi, born in the Aisin Gioro clan of a Jurched tribe, was a man of unquestionable courage and intelligence, who knew how to use men and lead them to victory. The success of Nurhachi may be compared with that of the Mongols under Ghengis Khan four hundred years earlier. He also fought his way to power on the pretext of avenging the death of his father and grandfather. Nurhachi started as a small-scale raider in 1583 along the northeastern frontier of China and built up his military striking power in a region beyond Chinese control, but still close enough to China to learn from their administrative practices. During the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) the Jurched people occupied the region north of Korea and east and northeast of Liaotung. In 1595 the Ming court gave Nurhachi the title of "Dragon-Tiger General", the highest title which could be granted to a Jurched chief. The bestowal of honours by the emperor was part of the policy to bind the nomad chieftains in an allegiance with the Chinese court. After years of negotiation, arrangements of marriages and alliances, as well as sporadic warfare, Nurhachi was able to unite the main tribes of forest and steppe people on the northeast border of China, and fulfil his ambition of creating a strong and independent Jurched state.



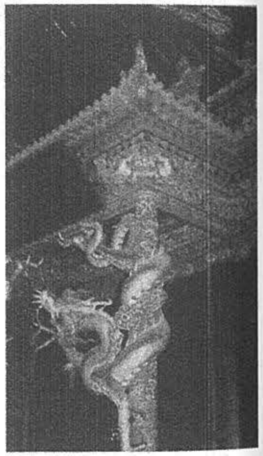
The Hall of Great Administration at Shenyang Palace, the sides of which are thought to represent the Eight Banners

Ceramic sculpture on the side of the Hall of Eminent Administration

Coiling dragon at the entrance to the Hall of Great Administration



The three-storied Phoenix Building at Shenyang Palace which was constructed by Abahai between 1627 and 1635



A dragon coiled on the throne of the Hall of Eminent Administration

Nurhachi (sometimes even going in person) regularly sent tribute in the form of horses and furs to Peking until 1609, but by 1616 he had reached a position where he felt he could finally defy the weakened and strife-torn Ming dynasty. He declared himself emperor of the Later Chin dynasty (Hou Chin), alluding to an earlier Jurched kingdom in North China known as the Chin dynasty (1115–1234), from which he claimed descent. In April of 1625 Nurhachi made Shenyang (then called Sheng-ching) his capital and began the construction of a regal palace, employing Chinese architects and sculptors to imitate the style of the Ming Imperial Palace in Peking. However, the construction of the main part of the palace lasted until 1636.

When Nurhachi died in 1626, he was succeeded by his eighth son, Abahai (1572–1643), who was also a very capable leader and astute administrator. Abahai steadily extended the power of the Jurched state and brought the remaining parts of Manchuria under his control. In 1635 Abahai, probably following the advice of the Chinese counsellors at his court, forbade the use of the name Jurched in reference to his people, and decreed that the name Manchu should be used instead. Doubtless this change was made to obliterate the fact that his ancestors had been under Chinese suzerainty. The origin of the name Manchu is still obscure. In 1636 Abahai, a great admirer of Chinese science and administration, adopted the new dynastic name *Ch'ing* (Pure) to parallel the Chinese dynastic name *Ming* (Bright), thus signifying the Manchu intention to make their own claim to the dragon throne of China.

One year after the death of Abahai in 1643, internal disorder in China brought the collapse of the Ming dynasty and gave the Manchu regent, Dorgon, one of Abahai's brothers, the chance to sweep down from the north and conquer China. A key role in the conquest of China was played by the Shanhaikuan pass at the eastern extremity of the Great Wall and a strategic point on the road to Peking. Wu San-kuei, a Chinese general at the pass, invited the Manchu troops inside the wall to put down the rebellion of Li Tzu-ch'eng, and with little difficulty they seized the Ming capital. The son of Abahai, at that time a child of six, was placed on the throne of China. Soon after the seizure of Peking, the Manchus abandoned their palace in Shenyang and moved into the Ming Imperial Palace at Peking, where they would rule China until 1911.

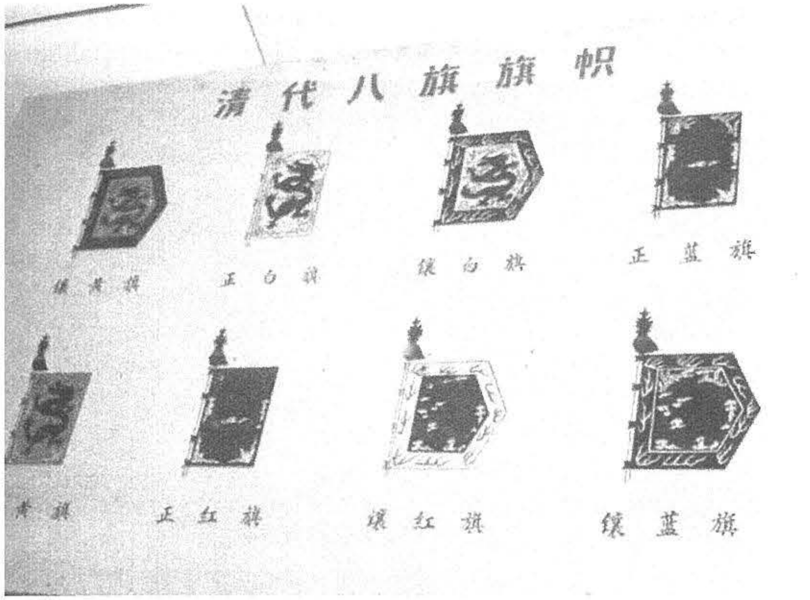
After 1644 onwards the palace in Shenyang was kept up, and served as the second seat of power. It was used by the later Ch'ing rulers as residence during their Eastern Inspection tours when they visited the homeland of the Manchu family clans to pay homage to the tombs of their ancestors and the founders of the Ch'ing dynasty: Nurhachi (T'ai Tsu) and Abahai (known in Chinese history as T'ai Tsung). Additions, embellishments and renovations were continually made to the palace up until the reign of Ch'ien Lung (1736–1795).

As was mentioned earlier, the Shenyang Palace is on a much smaller scale than the Imperial Palace in Peking. It consists of some seventy buildings, containing over three hundred rooms and occupying a space of about 60,000 square metres. (To compare with the Peking Imperial Palace, which covers an area of 720,000 square metres, see Stephen Markbreiter, Arts of Asia, November–December 1978, pages 66–77, and January–February 1979, pages 103–115.)

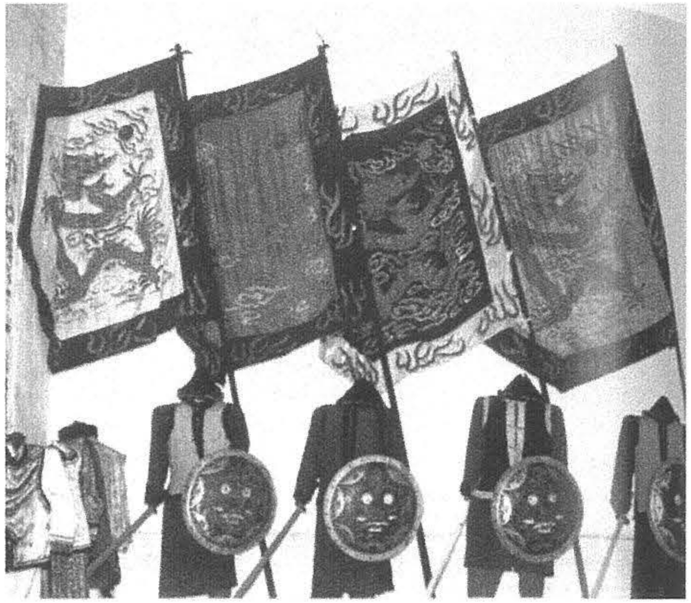
The Shenyang Palace, as a whole, exhibits a kind of evolutionary struggle between formality and irregularity. The walled area of the palace divides into three very dissimilar major elements on an east-west line.

The eastern wing of the palace is very appealing to the eye and produces a most satisfying impression. Of the three parts of the palace, its layout shows the least Chinese influence. Instead of a division of the area in a series of succeeding courtyards, we find here several small pavilions arranged on either side of a vast courtyard dominated by a brightly painted and intricately decorated octagonal structure. The first two side pavilions, which were used for the storage of the ceremonial musical instruments, have bright and gleaming yellow roof tiles bordered with green; but the remaining pavilions, ten in all, are quite plain. They are constructed of grey bricks, have a black tile roof, and their woodwork is painted red. The first eight of these pavilions, four on either side, symbolise the Eight Banners of the Manchu military system and are named after the different coloured banners or flags. When Abahai became Khan, he was in control of the Bordered Yellow and the Plain Yellow Banner. The last two of the Eight Banner pavilions, situated closest to the main building, represent those Banners.

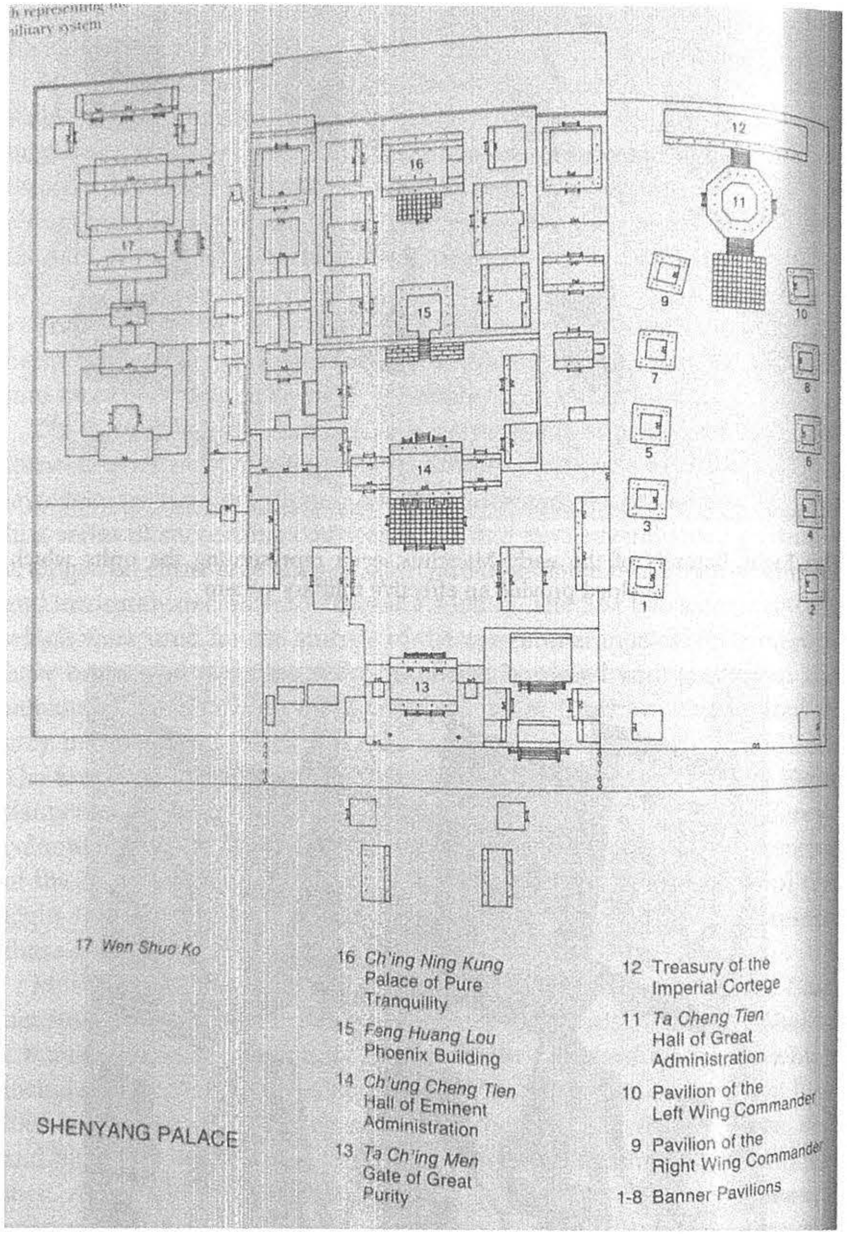
Much of the success of the early Manchu rulers rested upon the Banner system which permitted them to effect the transition from a tribal to a bureaucratic organisation. In 1601 Nurhachi organised his troops which included Mongols, Koreans, and Chinese, as well as his own people into four large units called Banners, distinguished by their yellow, white, red and blue flags. These units or Banners were officered by Manchu noblemen. As the ranks increased during the first decades of the seventeenth century, Nurhachi continued to develop new companies and in 1615 created four more Banners, making a total of eight. The new Banners were distinguished by flags of the original colours with contrasting borders. The original colours were bordered with red, except for the red banner or flag,



The Eight Banners of the early Manchus, each representing the units which helped provide an effective military system



The four bordered banners, added in 1615 to the original four banners to accommodate the increase in troops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SHENYANG PALACE
16 Ch'ing Ning Kung
Palace of Pure Tranquility
15 Feng Huang Lou
Phoenix Building
14 Ch'ung Cheng Tien
Hall of Eminent Administration
13 Ta Ch'ing Men
Gate of Great Purity
12 Treasury of the Imperial Cortege
11 Ta Cheng Tien
Hall of Great Administration
10 Pavilion of the Left Wing Commander
9 Pavilion of the Right Wing Commander
1-8 Banner Pavilions

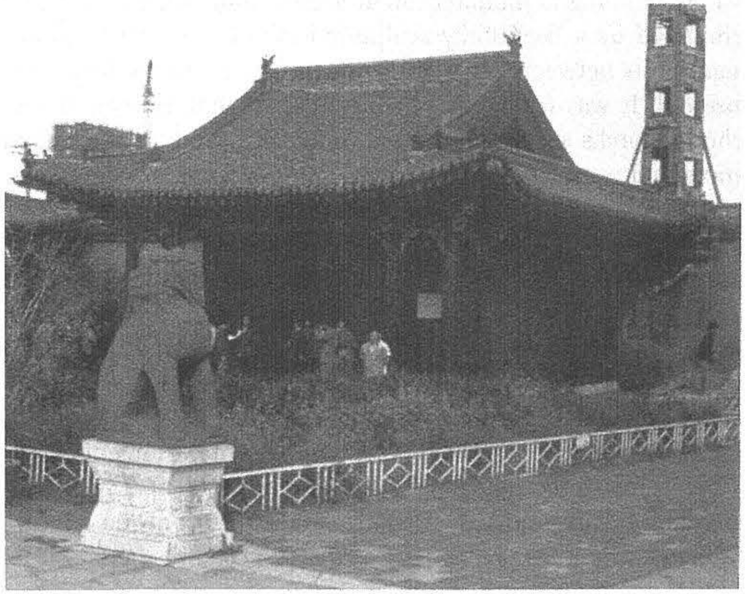
which was bordered with white. The Eight Banner system provided effective military discipline and a comprehensive register of civilians, monitoring the Manchu population and guaranteeing the equitable distribution of land and taxes that ensured the livelihood of its member.

After the Eight Banner pavilions, four on either side, are two more side pavilions which represent the left and right wing commanders of the Eight Banners. These ten pavilions are known as the pavilions of the ten princes. The two wing commanders and the leaders of the Eight Banners had their administrative offices here. The two rows of side pavilions taper inwards towards the north and lead up to a magnificent octagonal building, the *Ta Cheng Tien*, or Hall of Great Administration. The eight sides of the structure are again thought to signify the Eight Banners. This hall, built under Nurhachi, is meant to symbolise the Manchu emperor, who was the military and administrative head of the Eight Banners. A similar octagonal building had been erected in the previous capital of Tung-ching.

This colourful building has a double roof of gleaming yellow tiles bordered with green. The weight of the roof is distributed over an intricate system of interlocking brackets and beams on wooden pillars. Gilded sinuous dragons, winding around two pillars, highlight the entrance on the south side facing the vast courtyard. The door panels, which are fitted with open lattice-work at the top, and the pillars are of bright red colour. The whole building is mounted upon a terrace of white marble, which is surrounded by a beautifully sculptured marble balustrade composed of square posts between which ornamental panels and moulded railings are inserted. It was from this building that Abahai, as well as visiting Manchu monarchs such as K'ang Hsi (1662–1722) and Ch'ien Lung, held audiences and conducted official ceremonies and functions. Just behind the Ta Cheng Tien is a rectangular building with a black tile roof for the Imperial cortege. The architectural layout of the eastern courtyard of the Shenyang Palace, inspired by and symbolising the important Eight Banner system, is a unique feature of this early Manchu palace.

The middle section of the palace is the most important of the whole complex, as it contains the living quarters of the Imperial family. At the entrance of the *Ta Ch'ing Men*, or Gate of Great Purity, visitors still file past the stone tablets written in Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian, Uighur and Tibetan informing that those who enter must dismount from their horses before being admitted. The grace and strength of the typical Chinese architectural lines of this part of the palace, and the lavish use of

The eastern part of Shenyang Palace with the Eight Banners' offices leading to the Hall of Great Administration



The office of the leader of one of the Eight Banners, part of two rows which lead to the Hall of Great Administration

coloured glazed tiles, make it one of the most distinctive and beautiful structures in China.

The main roof ridges of the principle buildings are decorated with gorgeous reliefs of dragons, which were the symbols of the Imperial attribute of courage, strength and wisdom. The dragons depicted here are reaching for the "priceless pearl" whose perfect sphere symbolises the fusing of the complementary principles of yin and yang. On the even balance of yin and yang depends the well-being of the universe. At the two ends of the roof ridge are two large dragon-type monster heads known as *chih-wen*, which hold the ridge in their mouths. It is thought that they were created to drink the rain-water falling on the roof, in order to prevent the people within from drowning. Another explanation for their presence is that because of their fondness of water they protect the building from fire. The corner ridges are ornamented with a fantastic series of mythological figures called *kuei-lung-tsu* (devil and dragon-like beings). To supply all the necessary tiles for roofs and other architectural embellishments, Imperial ceramic workshops had to be set up in the mountains near Shenyang.

The middle section of the palace can be divided into three main courtyards and is dominated by the *Ch'ung Cheng Tien*, Hall of Eminent Administration, which is located on the north side of the first courtyard. The three-part scheme, so splendidly embodied here, recalls the style and layout of the Imperial Palace in Peking. The main buildings, their courts, and gateways are all in a row running on a north-south axis with their facades and openings all facing south. The secondary buildings leading from the main gate to the great halls are arranged at the sides of the courtyards and nowadays contain the Shenyang Palace Museum's collection of porcelain, furniture, costumes, jewellery, cloisonné, a bell weighing over four tons, and an assortment of the personal effects of Emperor Ch'ien Lung. The Hall of Eminent Administration was constructed before 1632. It was here that Abahai would daily handle important military affairs and meet with foreign envoys. The great ceremony held to proclaim a change of the dynastic title from Hou Chin to Ch'ing took place in this hall in 1636. After the capital had been moved to Peking, the Ch'ing dynasty emperors would hold court here while on their Eastern Inspection tours. Marking the entrance to the third courtyard is the impressive three-storied *Feng Huang Lou* or Phoenix Building, constructed between 1627 and 1635. Here the emperor rested during the summer, planned important military affairs, and held banquets usually while he was seated in an antler chair (made of a deer killed by Abahai himself). At one time, the *Shih Lu* or Veritable Records, sacred edicts, jade tablets and the jade treasures of the early Ch'ing rulers were stored here. The Phoenix Building was originally the tallest structure in the palace.

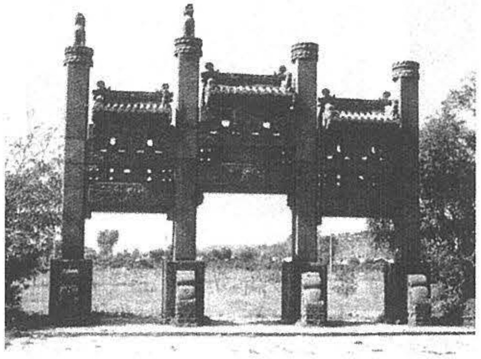
Following the Phoenix Building is the *Ch'ing Ning Kung* or Palace of Pure Tranquility, which was the actual living quarters of the emperor and his empress. In the western wing of the main building was a spirit hall where the emperor would bring offerings, under the guidance of a shaman, to maintain Manchu customs. The side buildings in this courtyard were used by the emperor's concubines. This last courtyard looks like a fortress in itself, surrounded by high walls and to be entered only through the towering Phoenix Building.

During Ch'ien Lung's reign another wave of large-scale construction was initiated, which enlarged the palace by six hectares. The western part of the palace belongs to that period. It is less impressive than the other parts of the palace and is more or less just an annex to the middle section. The most impressive building is the two-storied library (*Wen Shuo Ko*) constructed in 1782 especially for the storage of one of the seven copies of the *Ssu'k'u ch'uan-shu* (The Complete Library of the Four Treasuries) in 36,000 volumes. Warfare and fire destroyed some of the other copies stored elsewhere in China, but the Shenyang Palace copy is the most complete set to survive. The library was also used by the emperor to read and to watch plays.

A few other examples of early Manchu architecture have survived near Shenyang. These include four tombs connected with the early Manchu history. Before the capital was established in Shenyang, it was located east of Shenyang in a city called Hsing-ching. *This is* where the Hou Chin dynasty was founded. In 1598 a tomb was constructed for some of Nurhachi's ancestors, which included his father and grandfather. The tomb site is well preserved and known as *Yung Ling* (Eternal Mausoleum). Following Chinese custom, these venerable ancestors were posthumously given the title of emperor.

Tung-ching (southwest of Shenyang) was the capital of the Hou Chin only for the years 1624 and 1625. Located here are the mausolea (known as *Tung-ching Ling*) of Nurhachi's brothers, oldest son and one of his brother's sons, which date to that time. This tomb is of a very small scale and only the surrounding walls, gate and stele pavilion still survive.

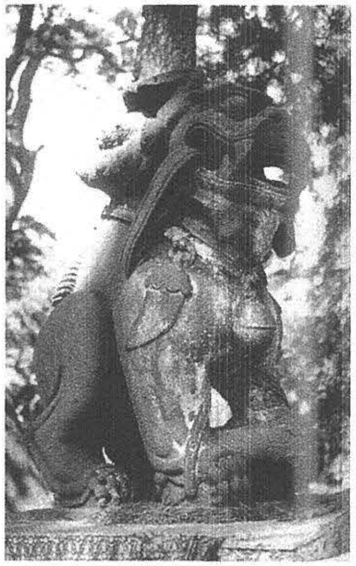
The most important early Manchu mausolea are those of the two founders of the Ch'ing dynasty: Nurhachi (T'ai Tsu) and Abahai (T'ai Tsung). Nurhachi's tomb known as *Fu Ling*, is located northeast of Shenyang, and Abahai's tomb, known as *Chano Ling*, is situated in the northwest suburbs of the city.



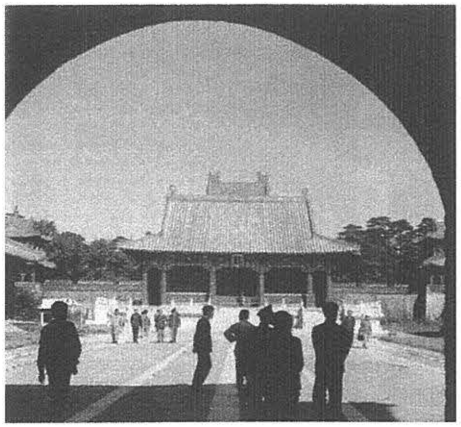
A stone gate on the west side of the entrance of the tomb of Nurhachi, which is located northeast of Shenyang

Detail of the stone gate on the west side near the entrance of the tomb of Nurhachi

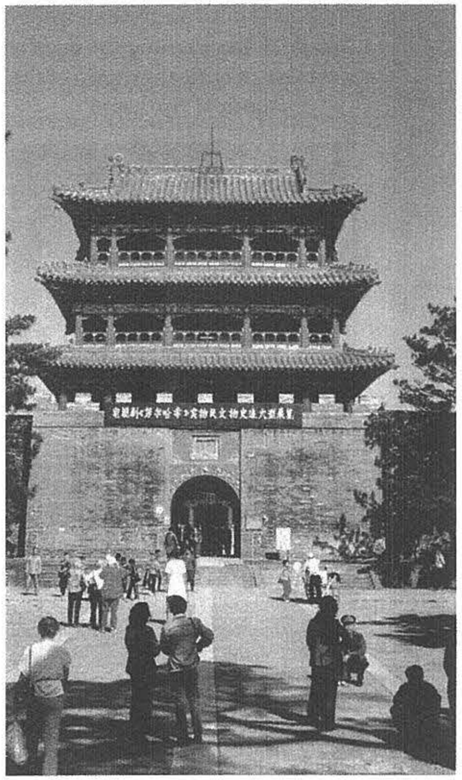
One of the pairs of stone animals elevated on highly ornamental stone columns in Spirit Way at the tomb of Nurhachi



View of the seated stone lion which guards Spirit Way at the tomb of Nurhachi



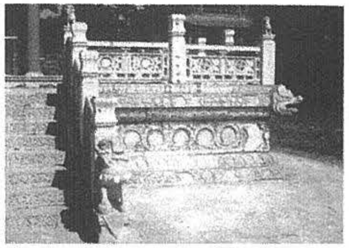
View of the inner courtyard and the principal building at the tomb of Nurhachi, the yellow-tiled Hall of Eminent Favours



View of the Gate of Eminent Favours, an imposing three-storied tower erected over the southern entrance of the tomb of Nurhachi

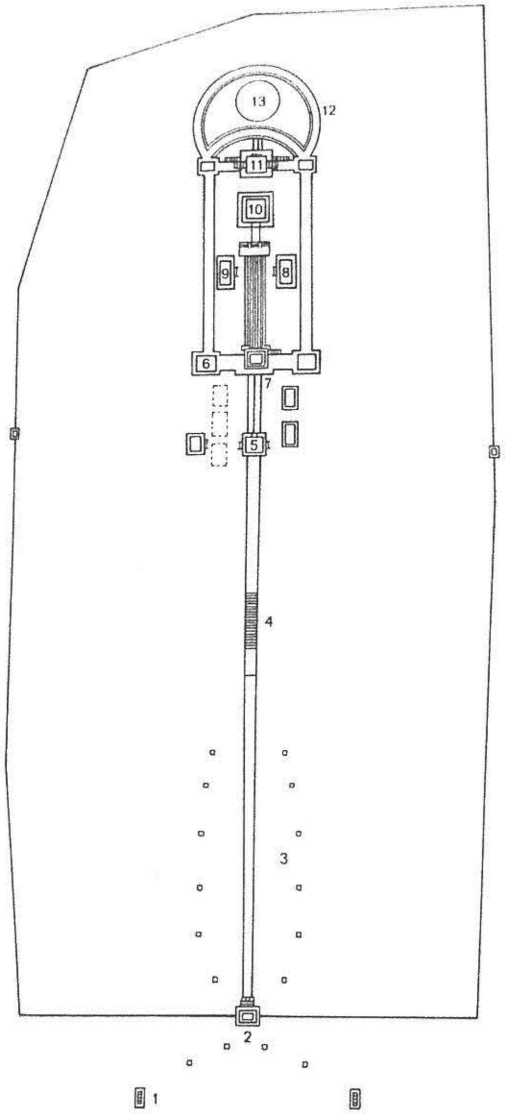
Inner courtyard of the tomb of Nurhachi with the Hail of Eminent Favours to the right

The entrance to the Hall of Eminent Favours where sacrifices and funerary rites were performed



Detail showing the carved marble terrace and steps of the Hall of Eminent Favours

Glazed dragon tile near the entrance of the Principal Red Gate, tomb of Nurhachi



13 Tumulus
12 Crescent-moon Shaped Wall
11 Soul Tower
10 *Lung En Tien* Hall of Eminent Favours
9 Western Side Hall
8 Eastern Side Hall
7 *Lung En Men* Gate of Eminent Favours
6 Corner Tower
5 Stele Tower
4 108 Steps
3 Stone Sculptures Lining the Spirit Way
2 Principal Red Gate
1 Stone Gate

TOMB OF NURHACHI

After the Manchus had established their dynasty in China, they followed the example of the founders of former Chinese dynasties and rebuilt the tombs of their forefathers into stately cenotaphs, thus displaying their filial piety and assuring a strong foundation for the prosperity of their dynasty.

In 1651 the rebuilding of there tombs was energetically begun. Materials were gathered and huge blocks of stone were extracted from quarries at a distance of more than 800 kilometres away. The mausoleums were completed that very year, attesting to the efficiency and power of the new dynasty. The officials who were in charge of the construction of the tombs were given titles of nobility and were rewarded with court robes and horse saddles. After the completion of the tombs, officers were appointed for the administration of each tomb, and people were selected to guard them. During the Ch'ing dynasty the tombs were closely guarded and became a restricted area.

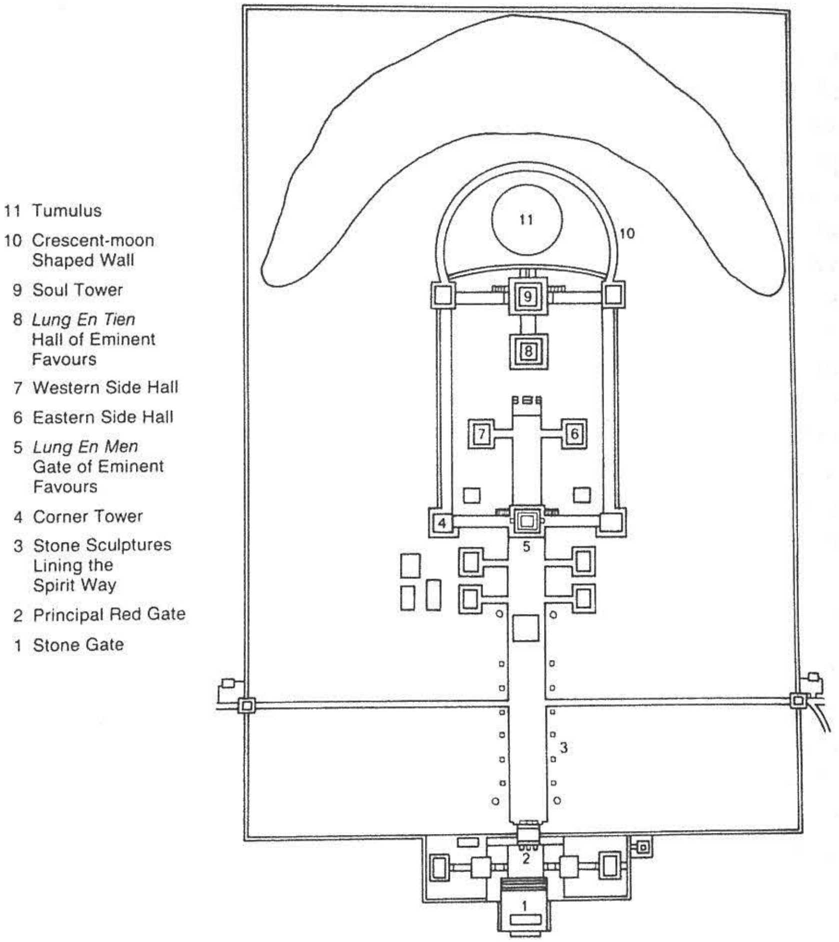
When the capital was moved from Shenyang to Peking, two new sepulchres were established for the Ch'ing emperors near Peking to the east and west. Despite this, the mausolea at Shenyang were kept up and many of the later Manchu rulers made special trips to perform sacrifices at the tombs of their ancestors. It has been recorded that between 1671 and 1829 eleven Eastern Inspection tours were conducted to the Shenyang mausolea. The Opium Wars and the Taiping Rebellion of the mid nineteenth century marked a decline for the dynasty and these costly visits ceased. After the fall of the Ch'ing dynasty in 1911, the tombs were abandoned and left to decay. The tomb of Nurhachi suffered major damage.

Both tombs have now been fully restored and turned into magnificent parks full of beautiful trees. The layout and architecture of the two tombs are basically the same, but of the two, the tomb of Nurhachi is less grand and due to its location outside the city is less frequently visited. A red wall surrounds each tomb complex and to enter through the wall, one must pass through a triple entrance gate located on the south side called the Principal Red Gate. A stone road runs from this gate to the main tomb buildings, and is guarded on either side by several pairs of stone animals elevated on highly ornamental stone pedestals. These sculptures, some of which are rather awkward and stiff looking, represent lions, mythical feline creatures, tigers, horses, camels and elephants. However, the elephants are only to be found at the tomb of Abahai, whereas tigers were only placed at Nurhachi's tomb. While these tomb sculptures are not great examples of this art-form, their simple coarse style is quite unique and interesting when compared to other ancient tomb statuary of China.

The alley of stone animals leads to an impressive red stele pavilion with a double yellow tile roof. White marble columns, carved with overall cloud pattern (*haua piao*) stand at the corners of the pavilion. The structure houses an enormous stele-bearing tortoise, which is symbolic of power, longevity and endurance. The sculptor has depicted the head and shell of this mythological creature with extraordinary power and skill. The five metre tall oblong stele standing on its back has an inscription in both Chinese and Manchu in the calligraphy of Emperor K'ang Hsi, which commemorates the sage virtues and divine feats of the deceased.

A square fortress resembling a feudal castle with four watch-towers surrounds the principle buildings of each tomb. The decorarive two-storied towers at the four corners are very similar to those that mark the corners of the Imperial Palace in Peking. An imposing three-storied tower known as the *Lung En Men* (Gate of Eminent Favours) was erected over the southern entrance. It was believed that the great ancestral spirit could send out good influences to his living descendants from this gateway. Entering through the gate, one finds oneself in a relatively large rectangular courtyard. On each side of the courtyard are bright yellow-tiled pavilions, and in the centre is the principal building called the *Lung En Tien* (Hall of Eminent Favours) or Sacrificial Hall. Funerary rites were performed here and sacrifices were made to the spirit of the ancestor. This hall is a wooden structure with many columns and is covered by a roof of gleaming yellow tiles, yellow being the colour reserved for the emperor. Inside the hall are the five precious objects (known as *Wu Kung*) necessary in the ceremony: two flower vases, two candlesticks and an incense burner placed in the centre. The whole structure is mounted on a superbly sculptured terrace and surrounded by a marble balustrade artistically worked and ornamented with reliefs and openwork. The terrace is ascended by three marble stairs with the middle one being for the most part covered with a sloping marble slab. This inclined slab is for the spirits, who need no steps for their ascent. In their honour, the sculptors fashioned in low relief, exquisitely and delicately carved clouds, waves, phoenixes and dragons. On the front side of the main hall is a small stone model of a building which is actually a furnace used to burn silks carrying eulogistical addresses.

Directly behind the hall is a small, freestanding decorative gate designed very simply of wooden doors set between two vertical posts linked by a crossbeam and surmounted by a small span-roof of glazed tiles. Almost immediately behind this screen is a white stone altar on which stand stone copies of the five ritual objects used in the actual rites performed in the Lung En Hall. Both the screen and altar have only a symbolic function.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3 Stone Sculptures Lining the Spirit Way
2 Principal Red Gate
1 Stone Gate
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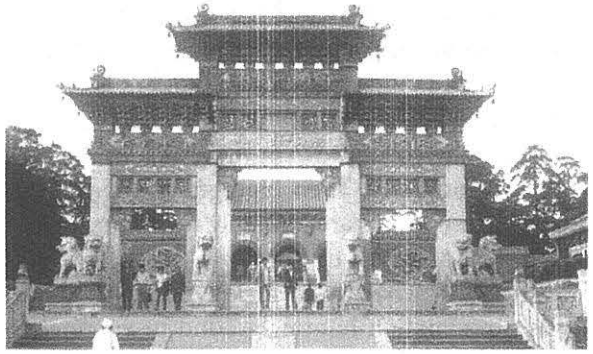
TOMB OF ABAHAI

The north end of the courtyard has a large stone tower on which stands a pavilion, which contains a stele inscribed with the name of the deceased emperor. In the case of Abahai's tomb, the inscription, which dates from the K'ang Hsi period, reads: "Tomb of the Cultured Emperor T'ai Tsung". This building of grey stone blocks, known as the Soul Tower, is joined on either side by a high crenellated wall. The massive square stone base of the two-storied tower has a barrel-vaulted tunnel that leads back to the burial mound which is surrounded by a crescent-moon shaped wall. On the south side of the tumulus wall is an ornamental screen of glazed tiles, which was intended to deflect evil spirits. Beneath the round earth mound is the subterranean palace which contains the remains of the emperor and his empress. In many ways, these two Manchu mausolea follow the style and layout of the Ming Imperial tombs, but their scale is smaller. Instead of two or three courtyards found at the Ming tombs, there is only one large courtyard containing the important buildings. The most important difference, however, are the four corner towers which make these Manchu mausolea look like small fortresses. Their high grey brick walls even have arrow holes. These fortressed walls are probably representative of the type of strongholds used by the early Manchus.

The Ch'ing emperors were greatly attached to the region of their ancestors. For them, Shenyang was not simply a hunting-ground or summer palace, but also a second centre of government and a pleasant refuge far from the court of Peking.

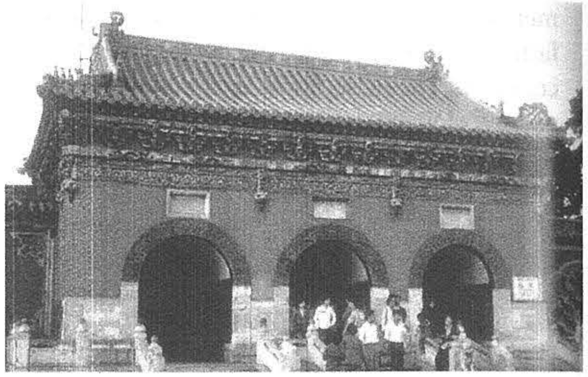
The Manchu palace and mausolea in Shenyang with their grandiose architecture, vast dimensions and elegant and detailed architectural elements in marble, remain to this day to attest to the glory of the forefathers of the mighty Ch'ing dynasty, which ruled China for almost three centuries. They also attest to the Manchu's willingness to adopt Chinese cultural elements to make themselves more acceptable in the eyes of their Chinese subjects.



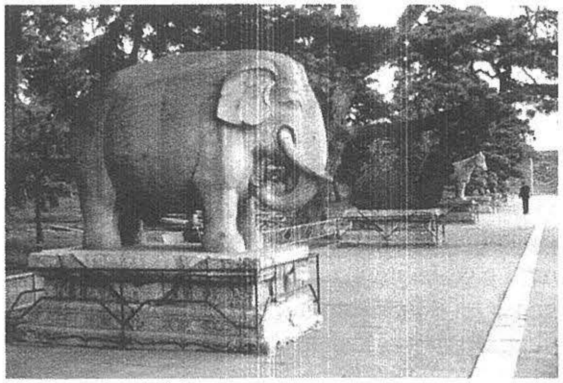
Stone gate at the entrance to the tomb of Abahai situated in the northwest suburbs of the city of Shenyang

View showing the stone lion fronting the entrance of the tomb of Abahai

Stone seated mythical animal in Spirit Way at the tomb of Abahai

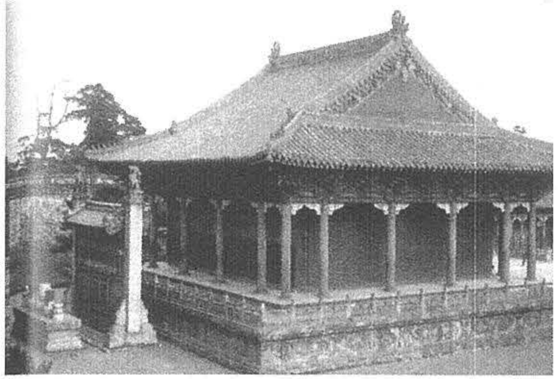


The Principal Red Gate, a red-walled triple entrance gate located on the south side of the tomb of Abahai

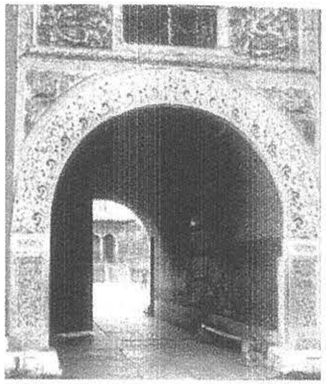


A coarsely carved but attractive stone elephant on a plinth which lines Spirit Way at the tomb of Abahai

A stone furnace for burning silks carrying eulogistic addresses

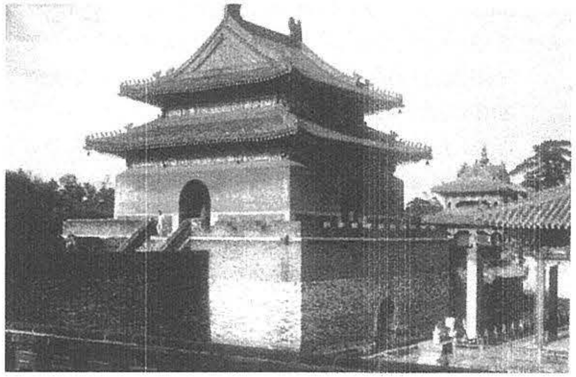


Hall of Eminent Favours with a decorative gate-screen and altar at the left displaying the five precious objects in stone

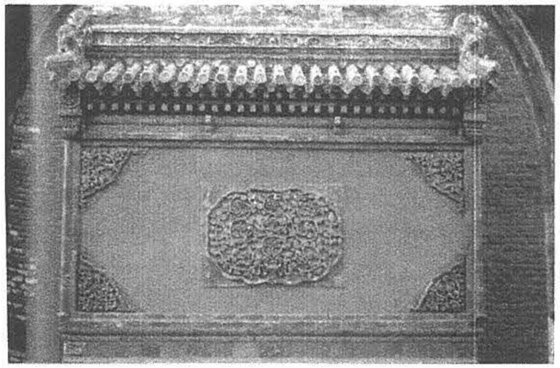


The intricately decorated arch of the Gate of Eminent Favours at the tomb of Abahai

A stone incense burner, one of the five precious objects carved from stone



The Soul Tower, located at the north end of the tomb of Abahai, comprising a large stone tower on which stands a pavilion



View showing the ornamental screen of glazed tiles behind the Soul Tower which was intended to deflect evil spirits

One of the four grey brick corner tower at the tomb of Abahai

■ Source: Williams, F.W., 'The Manchu conquest of China', in *The Journal of Race Development*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (October 1913), pp. 152–167.

THE MANCHU CONQUEST OF CHINA

F.W. Williams

The expulsion of the Tartar dynasty which ruled China for two centuries and a half has excited the sympathetic approval of the civilized world. That dynasty had been tried in the balance and found wanting; under its rule the largest and potentially the richest homogenous empire in the world had been reduced to impotence by foreign powers, its resources neglected, its people mistreated. A summary of their shortcomings does not, however, set forth the meaning of the Manchu conquest of China, or explain the remarkable nature of their achievement. To estimate their place in history fairly it is necessary to review the course of that conquest and consider its effect upon the welfare of the people whom the Manchus inadvertently rescued from a condition bordering upon anarchy. A brief account of the conquest and settlement of this northern race is all that this paper contemplates. The expansion of China under their rule, and the revived prestige of a mighty nation acquired from the exercise of a higher sense of racial control than the Chinese themselves were capable of, are subjects belonging to another chapter of this story. The decadence of the Manchus—apparently an inevitable result of their contact with a higher culture—should not blind us to the extraordinary success of their great performance.

Nurhachu, the founder of the high fortune of this clan, was born in 1559 in Hutuala, the capital of a small principality among the Great White Mountains, north of the Korean border. Here his ancestors of the Aisin Gioro (Golden Dynasty) had ruled for two centuries from the time of their founders, one of the "Kings" of the Nüjen Tartars. The relationship of these peoples to the Kin and other Tartar conquerors of northern China in the Sung period is somewhat obscure, but they belong to the same race that had been driven from China by the Mongols in the thirteenth century and relapsed more or less into barbarism in the wooded mountains between the Yalu and Sungari Rivers. China under the Mings had been fairly successful in holding them to the east of the Liao Valley while protecting her own settlers in Laiotung by garrisons in a line of border fortresses, but this fertile region was often harassed by bands of Tartar robbers. It was in pursuance of the characteristic policy of setting these predatory gangs upon one another that the empire finally engendered the genius of one of the great fighting chiefs of Asiatic history and ultimately brought about its conquest by his successors.

A khan of one of these tiny septs secured the help of the Chinese frontier guard in laying siege to a town ruled by a man who had married the granddaughter of Hüen, chieftain of Hutuala, Nurhachu's grandfather. The old man hastened with his son and heir to assist the princess, but being decoyed outside of the walls by a ruse of the Chinese captain, both were slain together with most of the garrison. Nurhachu thus became the head of his house at the age of twenty-four. The Chinese officer appears to have exceeded his instructions by embroiling the Bai, or Imperial Frontier Count, in the murder of these clansmen, and Nurhachu received the bodies of his father and grandsire as well as presents of considerable value, together with investiture in his chieftainship and the title of *Tu tuh*—the same as that now given to the military governors of the provinces. Instead, however, of surrendering the murderer of his father the Chinese made him lord of all the Manchu clans, which placed the young chief in a position of extreme danger and caused him to devote his energies to attacking his enemy and revenging himself upon the treacherous Chinese. Three years later, by drilling and improving his forces, he had so strengthened his position that the Chinese thought it wise to deliver up his enemy Nikan for execution, and to make a treaty that opened better trading facilities to his people. Next year, in 1587, he built Laocheng a few miles from his ancestral capital, with a palace and court after the Chinese manner, and governed so wisely as to bring the five Manchu clans in a few years to recognize him as king.

From this time to the end of his reign his career was one long succession of raids and conflicts brought about by the jealousy of his neighbors and his own determination to create an army that might become an instrument of his vengeance upon the Chinese. As a fighting chieftain he developed all those traits of *élan*, endurance and personal bravery that are common enough in history to excite no special surprise. He had the qualities of a Sivaji or a Skanderbeg, and these alone are sufficient to account for his ultimate conquest of people of his own kind in the vast wilderness between the Pacific, the Amur and the Mongolian steppe, roughly half a million square miles. What arrests attention, however, is the extraordinary capacity revealed in this Berserker fighter for the administration of his conquests and the assimilation of the sundry tribes within the region. The prestige of his victories attracted the soldiers of conquered tribes, who learned under a severe but generous leader the advantages of discipline and union. By 1606 he had even aroused the admiration of the Mongols beyond the Lao, whose Beiras sent him a complimentary embassy. Ten years later he had assumed the style of *Tienming* in his new capital at Hingking, and ruled his domain with the panoply and circumstance of a Chinese emperor. The assumption of this state was inevitably regarded as a challenge by the Chinese, whose policy it had always been to prevent the border tribes from uniting, and to recognize no titles among them that were not bestowed by the Ming suzerain. But Nurhachu revealed in his daring plans the political genius which has been a characteristic of his race in all ages, and which European observers have too often ignored. That race under various names has impressed us with its fighting powers, its endurance and its brutality; we have not recognized, however, its ability to assimilate and control its conquered subjects by methods which, barbarous and imperfect as they may sometimes appear, have, during the period of the Christian era wrenched the government of every civilized Asiatic state from its own people and governed them on the whole with advantage. As Parthians, Mamluks, Mongols, Seljuk and Ottoman Turks, to leave the lesser breeds unnamed, the distant congeners of the Manchus have not only invaded but repeatedly controlled all the civilized nations of the continent. The history of China cannot be properly understood unless due notice is taken of the impact of her northern neighbors from the period of the great Ch'in to recent times, nor can we afford to neglect the fact that her own great dynasties and governing element have come from those northern provinces which are chiefly peopled by descendants of a Tartar-Chinese intermixture.

Nurhachu, though he never entered China, stands as an exponent of the highest qualities of his race, a creative genius not only in strategy but in politics, the founder of a great tradition capably maintained for two centuries by his descendants, the establisher of a line of monarchs which have been surpassed by no other ruling house during an equal period in China.

The Chinese had reason for serious apprehension if Nurhachu succeeded in his purpose of reducing all the Tartar clans to his way. He had left them in no doubt as to his intention, when this was accomplished, of driving them behind the Great Wall, and in 1617 he published an open defiance to them by drawing up and burning with sacrificial ceremonies a document known as the "Seven Hates," including amongst the charges their murder of his parents, their interference with Manchu autonomy, their assistance rendered to his enemies, their assassination of an envoy and harassing of his farmers—"for all of which," he concludes, "I hate you with an intense hatred and now make war against you." They took him at his word, for while engaged, in 1619, in a war with the last of the Nüjen states that continued to resist him, a Chinese army of 200,000 was assembled at Mukden and marched in four divisions against the little state of Hingking. With only 60,000 men he proceeded, by the same tactics that Napoleon employed, to attack each of these divisions with his whole force before assistance could be got from the others. The result of the five days' battle, known as that of Sahu, was a complete and extraordinary victory for the Manchus and the annihilation of the Chinese army, with a loss of 45,000 men slain on the field. Yet, though his success secured for him unquestioned authority over the Nüjen tribes that had held out against him, the Chinese troops soon recovered their *moral* under an able general, who fortified the towns of Liaotung so successfully that for two years Nurhachu did not venture to attack him. The bravery of the Chinese is noticeable throughout these campaigns. What defeated them ultimately was the removal of energetic generals and the unconscionable turpitude of the eunuch control under which the Peking government had fallen. In 1621 Mukden and Liaoyang with seventy walled cities were captured and the Manchus for the first time established in control of the whole territory which foreigners have ever since called by their name. The Chinese never gave up the contest, but they were badly led by dull and cowardly generals sent by the palace politicians. Nevertheless the resistance was always determined. They lost the country west of the Liao down to the Great Wall, but regained most of it within four years under a competent leader called Sun Chengtsung, who fortified Shanhai kwan and Ningyuen. It was in 1625, during this period when his military advance was checked, that Nurhachu removed his palace from Liaoyang to Mukden—his sixth capital—and built the imperial headquarters which the dynasty has ever since regarded as its home. The transfer of the administration from the original tribal valley to this thickly settled Chinese plain was attended by a fuller adjustment of his government to the Chinese system and by an imitation of Ming ceremonial at his court. It was as natural for the princes to be educated in Chinese letters as it was for the Frankish princes to write Latin. Chinese culture was the only culture known to their world, and it was impossible for a sovereign in eastern Asia to set up his rule upon any other model or to hope for acceptance by civilized subjects unless he adopted their institutions. The Mongols had done so, and before the Mongols every northern conqueror in China since China began to be.

But what the Mongols learned of Chinese methods during a half century of conflict, the Manchu acquired in pursuing Nurhachu's sensible policy of providing several millions of Chinese settlers in the Liao Valley with the government to which they were accustomed, and habituating their own clansmen to the language and order of a finer culture than their own. It was this policy and their consistent recognition of a superior system that enabled the Manchus to retain their hold upon China after they had effected their conquest. The conquest itself, it will be observed, was a long struggle carried on chiefly through the agency of Chinese against Chinese until the country was too exhausted to offer further resistance to the forces that stood for order. At no time did the conquerors show superior generalship or valor; in numbers their own fighting men were always vastly inferior to the Chinese; in intellectual power they were never their equals. Yet they succeeded through sheer force of character, as the Ottomans have succeeded during a much longer period in western Asia, in dominating a people that were superior to them in every important quality except that of leadership.

Nurhachu met his first and only serious check in attempting the capture of Ningyuen, which was defended by a good general and by cannon cast by Jesuit missionaries. He died soon after this, in September, 1626, and was buried in the great tomb outside of Mukden, which is still shown to travelers. In accordance with Chinese custom his personal name had been replaced by the reign title of *Tienming* in 1616, when he assumed the dignity of emperor. After the accession of his grandson to the throne in Peking he was given the title of Taitsu, or Great Ancestor, by which he is known in imperial histories.

His successor, a fourth son known as Taitsung, appears to have been loyally supported by numerous brothers in taking up the arduous work of carving out a kingdom and pressing down upon China. The defense of the lower Liao was, however, maintained with much persistence by the Chinese, despite the corruption and divided councils of the Ming government, that his way to the capital remained closed, owing chiefly to the obstinate resistance of the two strong fortresses of Ningyuen and Shanhai kwan. While he cannot be granted the supreme place in the fortunes of his family that belongs to Nurhachu, the task bequeathed to him of advancing those fortunes beyond the ancestral domain was hardly less difficult than that of winning its independence. His first achievement, the conquest of northern Korea, whose loyalty to the Ming suzerain necessitated its punishment to secure his southern frontier, was completed in 1627. His other neighbors, the Mongols, presented a far more serious problem, but within ten years, between 1626 and 1636, by a series of expeditions and negotiations, he had succeeded in practically incorporating Kortsin into his own domain and obtaining the suzerainty and tribute of all inner Mongolia. Besides the obvious strategic necessity of thus solidifying his own boundaries the control of Mongolia permitted him to raid the whole northern tier of Chinese provinces across that vast border which has ever been a source of their apprehension since the beginning of recorded history. A great excursion in force was made in 1629 to the city of Peking itself, where the terrified court was besieged for some weeks and the country around laid waste, but the Chinese general with his army brought down from Shanhai kwan was able to prevent an assault and the capital was saved.

Taitsung died at the age of fifty-two in September, 1643, and was succeeded by his ninth son, a child of five, while the control of the Manchu dynasty passed into the hands of the boy's uncle Dorgun. It was a critical moment in the career of that dynasty, for dissension amongst the many able and aspiring sons of Nurhachu would have involved its ruin had a struggle amongst them for the succession begun. By continuing the line in accordance with prescribed Chinese custom, in the person of a heir of the next generation, the internal peace of the warlike band was preserved while their activity found ample scope in the sudden and enormous expansion of their empires in the conquest of China.

Meanwhile the internal condition of the Chinese empire had become desperate under a long series of famines and rebellions which had utterly paralyzed its economic resources and brought about a general anarchy. It is impossible to decide whether under such loosely organized agencies as that of China the general prevalence of distress is a cause or a consequence of political disturbance. When thickly populous agricultural communities are reduced to starvation the people will inevitably break up into robber bands and prey upon each other to the confusion of all civil administration. No government can reduce the disorder unless provisions can be obtained to satisfy the needs of those made desperate by want; but a bad government may by its inefficiency aggravate the starving people and succumb to the forces of disruption thus let loose. It is notable that in the history of China no great upheaval has occurred without its concomitant of famine. In the third decade of the seventeenth century the northern provinces were visited by an unusually severe drought which was so badly met by venal officials that multitudes took to the mountains and attacked the roads and villages. In addition to these natural causes weakening authority in an imperfectly articulated domain, increased taxation and recurring levies of troops to meet the Manchus began in 1621 to arouse angry opposition in the western provinces. Revolts broke out which were painfully and only partly subdued. By 1631 the robber bands throughout all the inland provinces had swelled to great armies under redoubtable captains, whose successes encouraged the able-bodied to enlist under their banners and live upon the spoil of captured cities. At the end of another decade Li Tsu-cheng, a Shansi leader, after many vicissitudes, had become the greatest of them all, and with an army composed of nearly a million needy adventurers he was swarming, in 1641, over the famine-stricken province of Honan toward Peking. Despite the impotence of the imperial government in this score of years of carnage it is remarkable that the various rebel armies met with obstinate resistance in many cities. There was no systematic opposition, yet owing to the indomitable spirit in defending their own which characterizes the Chinese people, as well as to the lack of organization among the rebels, the agony was long continued. The contrast between the Chinese rebel Li and the Manchu Nurhachu is suggestive as typical of the differing genius of the two races. It has often been said that the Chinese were conquered because they were unwarlike. They showed, on the contrary, a persistent fighting eagerness both before and after the Manchu irruption that ranks them among the martial people of the world. They failed both in rebellion and in defense because they could produce no leader capable of consolidating and fixing an orderly system of control. The Manchus succeeded, though they had to borrow and adapt the system of their enemy, because they know how to make themselves obeyed.

Peking was surrounded by the rebel host in February, 1644, and fell through sheer cowardice on the part of its defenders, lost to all sense of loyalty and shame through generations of eunuch control. The last of the Ming emperors, incapable to the end of any resolute action, committed suicide as the rebels poured over the deserted walls, and the city and palace—perhaps the richest storehouse of valuables at that time in the world—was given over to slaughter and pillage. Li put on the imperial yellow and reigned for one day in the palace, when he was called away to the north by a sudden and unexpected danger. Wu San-kwei, the ablest Chinese general that the herculean struggle against the Tartars had produced, preferring a Manchu *Hwangti* to a rebel upstart, called upon Dorgun to join him in avenging his dead sovereign. The Manchu army was hurried down to Shanhai kwan, Wu and his army were constrained to shave the forehead and adopt the Tartar queue, and preparations made for an advance upon the capital. But Li, who knew the value of keeping the aggressive, was upon them with his great host ere their forces had left the Wall. His defeat in the terrific battle that ensued before Shanhai kwan was due, it would appear, to his carelessness in scouting, for, unaware of the Manchus drawn up among the hills on his flank, the rebels were disconcerted by their sudden advance just as they were wearing out Wu's troops by mere weight of numbers. Their route was followed up by Wu, while Dorgun and his soldiers hurried on to the dismantled capital. He placed his nephew the Emperor Shunchih upon the Dragon Throne, removing the seat of his government from Mukden as soon as the devastation of the rebel Li could be repaired.

But possession of the capital was far from giving the new dynasty control of the empire. China continued for nearly a score of years in armed revolt against her foreign conquerors, whose unity and steadfast policy, rather than any proficiency in arms, at length brought them victory. At the outset of this obstinate struggle the odds were enormously against them. The resources of the natives in men and materials were greatly superior to their own; their base, the Yellow River basin and the Great Plain, had been ravaged by years of famine and rebellion from which the southern provinces had suffered but little; loyalty to the Ming dynasty, despite its abuses, still inspired the educated class everywhere; and finally, the elements of disorder long since set loose under the robber rebellion gave free vent to that centrifugal tendency within the vast empire which has ever disposed its various provinces to fall apart, when opportunities offered, into separate governments under local adventurers. Had the fallen dynasty produced one resolute master of men capable of choosing and controlling his ministers it could at least have held the land south of the Yangtse and divided China into two kingdoms as in the days of the Sung. But China seemed to be impotent in begetting a single administrator worthy of the name; she fell at last under the domination of an inferior race because the genius of her people was unable to meet the first requirement of a true national life. Whether this failure was due to deterioration of moral fiber, the result of a civilization grown too old to revive, the future alone will show.

The Manchu regent found his first great work at hand in setting up the machinery of government in Peking and restoring order in two of the "home provinces," Shansi and Honan; the other, Shantung, dispersed Li's rebel officials but remained for some time loyal to the Ming claimant. Li Tsu-cheng himself had to be pursued by Wu San-kwei and defeated in eight great battles during eighteen months before he ended his own life, a discredited fugitive in Hupeh. Dorgun very shrewdly proclaimed amnesty to all who would acknowledge his authority, and their old titles and emoluments to members of the old imperial household, even restoring the Ming tombs west of Peking and sacrificing to the manes of their former emperors. Many accepted his terms, but the family was large and produced a succession of futile aspirants to the throne—names to conjure with amongst a proud and loyal people, but all alike cowardly and trivial, unworthy even of sympathy in the disasters which infallibly crowned their recalcitrance. Five of these deserve mention for the trouble they created. A grandson of the famous old Emperor Wanli, known by his title of Fu Wang, was promptly recognized as emperor in the Yangtse and coast provinces, and established in Nanking, the original capital of his dynasty. A victim of the weakness which marked all the degenerates of that dynasty, he gave his days to dancing girls and the business of restoring its fortune to one Ma Shu-ying, perhaps the most rapacious and unprincipled monster of these distressful times, ignoring the advice and devotion of his minister Shu Ko-fa, a noble contrast to the favorite. Shantung, deserted by Ming incompetency, was promptly subdued, and Nanking capitulated after the flight and surrender of the pretender. About the same time another army conquered Hupeh province, and Manchu supremacy obtained throughout the country north of the Yangtse. Had it not involved the compulsory change of head-dress to the plaited queue, that supremacy might have been supported with less contumacy on the part of the Chinese. The ordinance was enforced with vigor, presumably because the Manchus found it necessary amid frequent defections to insist upon some visible sign of submission among the natives, but the imposition of such a test upon a vain and self-sufficient people like the Chinese reveals their incapacity to understand the mind of a more subtle race when its *amour propre* is concerned.

The second pretender, called the Tang Wang, once a Ming prince of Nanyang, found temporary support in Kiangsi and Fuhkien, but it melted away through the perfidy and incompetence of his generals. His brother Yü Ngao established the imperial pageant in Canton after his destruction in December, 1646, but the city was soon captured by a surprise and he killed himself in the presence of the Chinese traitor who made him prisoner. A fourth Ming, known as the Lu Wang, had ere this set up as an opposition emperor in Chehkiang, where, partly through the assistance of pirates, he regained all of Fuhkien between 1648 and 1650; but he fell foul of Koxinga's ambitions and was drowned in 1653 at Amoy. The last aspirant for Ming leadership, Yowliang the Kwei Wang, a great-grandson of Wanli, was proclaimed emperor in Kwangsi as a rival of Yü Ngao. He was utterly worthless, like the rest, but the strength of Chinese hostility to the Manchus was revealed in 1648, when after being chased into Yunnan, a sudden resurgence of opposition throughout the whole of China swept the seven southern provinces and Szchuen under his allegiance, and the Regent was confronted with the task of reconquering the greater portion of the empire. To add to his difficulties a famine again exhausted the north, the Mongols got out of hand and raided over the Wall, the Mohammedans rose in Kansuh, and bandits swarmed in every province. In this new crisis of their affairs the dauntless Wu San-kwei was given the chief command, and very slowly the Ming supporters were pushed back by their own countrymen until the cowardly Kwei Wang fled over the Yunnan border into Burma, to be surrendered in 1661 by the Burmese and die by his own hand a captive of the great general.

The year 1661 marks the first lull in the secular resistance of China to the imposition of foreign rule. The country was conquered but not convinced. In the general wreckage of seventeen years of war it had exhausted its resources without developing a commander fit to excite an enduring loyalty or unite the diverse desires of different sections. Under the apathy that ensued after this bitter experience the Manchus very prudently encouraged reconstruction by appointing Chinese officials chosen according to the ancient tests throughout the empire, and China returned sensibly though sullenly to her age-old life of toil under her new masters. Ten years before this date Dorgun the Regent had died, leaving Shunchi to direct the imperial policy in person at the age of twelve. We do not hear much of his intellectual endowments, but he had been nurtured in a household of sturdy kinsmen and he must have matured early to have employed his talents successfully at this age. He did in 1661 in his twenty-fourth year, leaving the empire to a son eight years old whose reign name Kanghsi is one of the most brilliant in Chinese history.

The Manchus were not ungrateful to the Chinese generals who had enabled them to win an empire. Wu Sankwei, whose pursuit of the Kwei Wang had completed the crowning performance of that great conquest, was given the title of prince and made absolute lord of the two provinces of Yunnan and Kweichow, with his own army and entire control of the civil appointments and revenues of the territory. Two other generals, both Liaotung men, were in like manner created princes of the maritime provinces of Kwangtung and Fuhkien, from which, as from Wu's domain, all the Manchu soldiery was withdrawn. Judged by the event this method of rewarding their services seems imprudent, but amid the multitude of traitors that must have made China appear to these Tartars as infected with perjury, these men had resisted the temptations to which others had succumbed and remained loyal to the end. Their honors were awarded in proportion to the magnitude of their efforts. But Prince Wu, either because he wearied of his sovereign state in a remote province, or because he was apprehensive of the imperial plans to reduce his army, after accumulating stores and revenues revolted in 1674, soon after the young Kanghsi had assumed control of the government. With him arose also the Prince Kung of Fuhkien; and in a few weeks the empire was once more ablaze with insurrection, officials everywhere surrendering their cities and the people gladly removing their queues. Six provinces turned against their Manchu masters; a seventh, Kwangtung, remained neutral because its old Prince, Shang Ko-si was loyal, but his son Chu-sin, a drunkard, accepted the title of Great Commander from Wu, assumed the old Chinese headdress and made his aged father a prisoner. The latter died in 1676, and Chu-sin, rather alarmed at Wu's attitude toward him, made his peace with Kanghsi. The other rebel prince (of Fuhkien) after some serious fighting, was pardoned and re-employed by the Manchus in 1677, but was subsequently executed in Peking, a fitting end for his cruelty and crimes. The defection of these coast provinces, though badly led, was heartily endorsed by their inhabitants whose hatred of the Manchus has never much abated, and a considerable Manchu army had to be employed in bringing them to order. Wu San-kwei raged up and down the western provinces, where his armies at one time had possession of Shensi and even threatened Peking. So long as he lived there seemed to be a magic in the old warrior's name that paralyzed the troops brought against him. All his campaigning was carried on in the enemy's country, and though he was presently driven out of Shensi and the two Kwang, he died holding his own in Hunan, while none dared to attack his base in the southwest. During four years this indefatigable fighter had wrenched nearly half of China from Manchu control and maintained his upstart government upon the resources of the least productive portion of the empire. Kanghsi, who inherited the physical vigor of his great ancestors, was with difficulty dissuaded from taking charge of the campaign against this formidable rival in person. His counsellors were probably justified in their fears of losing Peking in an émeute if he left the capital, but his resolution in the crisis and the resources at his command—chiefly in the better fighting qualities of the Mongols and northern Chinese troops—eventually achieved a hard-earned victory over all his foes in 1681. Wu had succumbed to an illness in 1678; his grandson and successor, Shu-fan, was beheaded upon the fall of his capital Yunnan, and his head hung upon one of the city gates of Peking. The rebellion had failed, and the emperor could congratulate himself that he had accomplished what was necessary for establishing his autocracy, the disarming of the vassal princes. So long as they retained their hereditary powers the Manchu was little more than the feudal suzerain of China. Their revolt was a declaration of the right of the Chinese to rule themselves, and in this sense these eight years were the concluding act in the bloody drama begun in 1644. To insure the future Kanghsi abolished the title of *Wang* except as bestowed upon members of the imperial clan, nor was it made hereditary even amongst these.

In the settlement of the country Manchu troops were quartered in permanent garrisons in a score of the more important cities of the empire. These "bannermen" were forbidden to intermarry with the Chinese or to engage in any occupation except that of arms. So long as these warriors were regularly exercised in their profession under the great military emperors, chasing bandits or campaigning in Central Asia, they remained a valid defence to the throne. But they never constituted an important element in the forces of the empire.[1] In later times, becoming utterly demoralized through inaction, compelled to remain aliens in spirit as well as in race to the industrious Chinese who surrounded them and to whom they represented the yoke of a foreign master, they sank into forlorn and useless drones whose descendants were the first victims of the Chinese revolution of 1911. This was Kanghsi's reply to the *intransigeants* of China. He was logical, perhaps, but time, a profounder logician, proved it to be fallacious. The conquest had not in reality been effected by Manchu braves or even by Manchu wisdom, nor could the Manchus ever retain their hold upon China merely by the valor of their men. Their attack was begun at an opportune moment, when a long period of Ming misrule and her reduced vitality had so distracted China as to admit of her capital being taken by a *coup de main.* The importance of Nurhachu's work of training and preparation was fully revealed in this initial success and in the admirable temper of his successors, as they employed all the factors in their favor while pushing the conquest through to an end. But these factors were for the most part Chinese: the hopeless incapacity of the Ming pretenders, the willingness of the Chinese to fight for the foreigners, the schisms that separated north from south, faction from faction, province from province, the indomitable fortitude of a courageous people when once enlisted in their cause. It was the Chinese themselves who completed the conquest of China for the Manchus; it was the Chinese who suffered them to rule because they adopted their culture and institutions and took the natives into partnership in the management of the empire. No disposition of Manchu garrisons at strategic centers could have long upheld that rule or prevented insurrections had the Tartars departed from their policy and managed their great estate selfishly. And who shall say that those who, for fear or favor, cast their lot with the Manchus decided unwisely for their country? The sovereigns of China never had a broader sense of empire or a clearer idea of the physical confines and defences of that empire than under Kanghsi, the greatest of her modern emperors, whose expansion of her boundaries and increase of her prestige made her a greater power than ever before and strong enough to save her from subjugation by the predatory states of a newly awakened Europe.

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[1] In Chienlung's reign there were 45,500 Manchu bannermen disposed in twenty towns of China Proper, 8,750 near Peking and 15,000 in eight garrisons in Turkestan, besides about 100,000 guarding the imperial palace. The total Chinese army was 662,000, besides 700,000 provincial troops.

■ Source: Kwon, Hyeok Rae, 'Memories of the Manchu wars of the seventeenth century in East Asia and literary descriptions of the Qing dynasty', in *Korea Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (autumn 2010), pp. 128–150.

MEMORIES OF THE MANCHU WARS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY IN EAST ASIA AND LITERARY DESCRIPTIONS OF THE QING DYNASTY

Hyeok Rae Kwon*

Abstract

In this paper, I analyze the memories of the Manchu wars and the manner in which literary descriptions of the Qing dynasty were made in several seventeenth-century-era stories. The descriptions of the battle of Simha (1619) used as subject matter for novels and the portrayals of the historical figures of Nurhachi and Huangtaiji are analyzed in order to identify the perceptions of the Qing dynasty implied in the novel texts contemporary to the change of regime from Ming to Qing. The battle of Simha was depicted concretely in such tales as Choe Cheok jeon, Kang Ro jeon, *and* Kim Yeong-cheol jeon. *In these stories, the writers described the orderly and powerful Qing army in a positive manner. Even writing in an era in which the perceptions of the Qing dynasty were negative, the authors of these three stories realistically accepted the reorganized power structure centered around the newly emerging Qing, and its emperors Nurhachi and Huangtaiji were described respectfully as positive characters with magnanimity who could gain the trust of the people and unify all of China. This description of Qing dynasty China is the result of the conscious efforts of the writers to objectively understand the entity of Qing and critically reflect on Joseon dynasty politics.*

Introduction

It was in the first half of the seventeenth century that a series of Manchu wars in Liaodong and the Korean peninsula broke out when the Qing dynasty (1644–1911)[1] appeared as the background in Korean novels. These wars, which included the battle of Simha in 1619, the Manchu invasions of Joseon in 1627 and 1636, completely reorganized the power structure of East Asia around the Qing, which gained ascendancy after the collapse of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). In addition, the perspective through which scholars view the world changed greatly. Accordingly, a series of such wars forced the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910) to sever its relations with the Ming and enter into a tributary status with the Qing, requiring Korea to pay tribute and extend its courtesy to the fullest. Despite this, the sentiment prevailed in the Joseon dynasty that deified the Ming but detested the Qing for almost 200 years, even after Korea's complete subjugation by Qing. We can still find such sentiments in historical accounts and records through such examples as the government's plan to conquer the Qing, strong pro-Ming Sinocentrism, and the Korean view that saw itself as a "Little China."[2]

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[1] The author of this paper uses the official name of Qing, even when referring to the former period under the name of Later Jin dynasty.

I was personally interested in how novelists of the time depicted their perspective towards Qing in their novels. My findings showed that in the literary works from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including *Choe Cheok jeon* (The Tale of Choe Cheok, 1621), *Kang Ro jeon* (The Tale of Kang Ro, 1630), *Kim Yeong-cheol jeon* (The Tale of Kim Yeong-cheol; published in the late seventeenth century), *Im Gyeong-eop jeon* (The Tale of Im Gyeong-eop; published at the end of the seventeenth century), and *Bakssi buin jeon* (The Tale of Mrs. Bak; presumed to be published in the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century),[3] in which the series of wars were used as background, Qing's major figures of the times and the historic realities of the regime change from Ming to Qing are of significant weight in the depictions, and in this sense they are useful texts from which we can gain a literary description of historical facts. The main historic incident depicted in the above mentioned literary works was the battle of Simha, while the Manchu invasions of Korea in 1627 and 1636 were featured less prominently. Within such works, the battlefield of Simha and the historic figures of the first Qing emperor Nurhachi (alternatively Nuerhachi 努爾哈赤) and the second emperor Huangtaiji 皇台吉, whom the main character of the novels met, were outstandingly characterized.

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[2] The Korean view of "Little China" is based on the premise that Joseon would become the next leader in the world as a successor of the main line of Sinocentrism, abandoning the idea of Ming's restoration. For more detailed information, refer to Kye (2009b, 157–161) and Huh (2009, 283–284).

[3] It is hard to find works other than the novels already mentioned, whose material came directly from Qing.

The battle of Simha was described somewhat differently in *Choe Cheok jeon, Kang Ro jeon,* and *Kim Yeong-cheol jeon.* It is very interesting that the battle of Simha, which served as the turning point of Qing's ascendancy over Ming, has been depicted in several novels in the history of Korean literature. This reflects the fact that the battle of Simha was a significant incident that gave the momentum for a historic change in power from Ming to Qing, and the fate of people at that time was therefore considered worthy of depiction. On the other hand, the Manchu invasion of Korea in 1627 is partly shown in *Kang Ro jeon,* while the Manchu invasion of Korea in 1636 is featured in both *Im Gyeong-eop jeon* and *Bakssi buin jeon.*

Acknowledging the assumption that literature reflects history, the importance of the reality depicted in literature, and of historic novels in particular, cannot be underestimated. However, the historical reality described in a novel has been described as "memory as literature, memory as politics" (M. Park 2005, 275), which simultaneously suggests that emotional and political aspects are inevitably involved in creating literary works. The author's imagination is also involved in the novel as well as the author's memory of historic incidents. The main historical reality depicted in a novel and the fate of humans at the time can be a shared "memory," the memory shared between the author and the people of the time; the imagination will depend on the author's political perspective. Based on these assumptions, this paper discusses the historical records of the Qing dynasty, focusing on the battle of Simha in particular, and studies the depictions of the Qing people, the Qing's literary influences on Joseon, and the progressive meaning in relation to the "ideology of revering the Ming and rejecting the Qing" (*sungmyeong baeho*). This paper further deals with the writers' intentions and their political perspectives.

Descriptions of the Battle of Simha

The 1619 battle between the united armies of the Joseon and Ming dynasties against the Qing was called the battle of Simha or the Sharhu battle. In 1616, Nurhachi, the leader of the Aisin Gioro Clan (1559–1626), unified the Manchu area in what is today Northeastern China and founded a nation called "Houjin."[4] After unification, he revamped the national system for two years, laying the groundwork for a more unified and secure society. On April 3, 1618, he proclaimed war on the Ming. The Ming was taken aback and appointed Hao Yang to the post of Governor General of Liaodong in charge of the subjugation of Nurhachi in April. At the Ming's request, Kang Hong-rip led 13,000 soldiers and crossed the Amnokgang river to Liaodong on February 19, 1619. A few days later, Hao Yang held a departure ceremony, divided 100,000 soldiers into four squads, and headed for Nurhachi's Hituhara castle.

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[4] The Manchu first called their rule the Later Jin dynasty, but Huangtaiji changed the official name to the Qing in 1636.

The number of soldiers Qing had at that time was only 30,000, but they achieved a grand victory over the Joseon-Ming forces on March 4, 1619, after days of fierce fighting. This battle is referred to as the battle of Simha in Joseon and the battle of Sarhu in China. Usually, the entire battle in which the expedition force of Ming fought the army of Qing is usually referred to as the battle of Sarhu, including the battle of Simha (Han 1999, 255). However, strictly speaking from the perspective in Joseon, it should be more accurate to call it the battle of Simha since Simha and Sarhu are located at some distance away from each other.[5]

In the battle, nearly 50,000 Ming troops were killed, and due to the great damage to the Joseon army on March 4, Joseon lost 8,000 soldiers. With the 4,000 soldiers who survived the battle, Kang Hongrip gave in to Qing, and the captured Joseon soldiers emerged as a factor of conflict among Joseon, Ming, and Qing. On the one hand, Ming lost its governing power in the Liaodong area because of the defeat in Simha battle. On the other hand, Nurhachi was able to consolidate his power in the same region.[6]

The first description of the battle of Simha in a novel was *Choe Cheok jeon*. Jo Wi-han (1567–1649) used the episode of the battle of Simha and the prison break to dramatically describe the separation of Mr. and Mrs. Choe and Choe Cheok's return to his homeland.

> ① At the beginning of 1618, a barbarian with a grudge from Jianzhou 建州 gathered an army against the Ming. It penetrated into Liaoyang 遼陽, and defeated several camps in a row. The Ming Emperor was furious and ordered all the soldiers to destroy the army (437).[7]

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[5] Kang Hong-rip reported to the government that he had been stationed in Simha, which refers to Liudaohe 六道河 in that region. On the other hand, Sarhu is a field at the foot of Sahru Mountain in Jiefan 界藩 province. For more details, refer to S. Lee (2007, 350–357).

[6] For the meaning and development of the battle of Simha, refer to Han (1999, 244–264); Kye (2009b, 161–176); S. Lee (2007, 350–357); and H. Wang (2009, 12–20).

[7] For convenience, the translated version of *Choe Cheok jeon* by Park Hee-byoung (2005) was quoted, not the original text in Chinese.

> ② Finally, Choe Cheok packed his belongings and left. After his arrival at Liaoyang, he crossed the hundreds-of-kilometers span of Manchu lands, and pitched camp in line with the Joseon army in Umochae. However, the commander-in-chief looked down on Qing's army, so they were defeated. Nurhachi killed all of the Ming's soldiers *without killing a single Joseon solider, through a strategy of threatening and coaxing the Joseon soldiers* [author's emphasis].... Choe Cheok was born in Joseon. He escaped his death by a hair's breadth when he sneaked into the Joseon army that had gathered in a mass. However, Choe Cheok was taken captive when Kang Hong-rip surrendered to the Qing (438–439).

Choe Cheok jeon was the first novel to use the battle of Simha as literary background. Jo Wi-han, the novel's author, described the personal history of Choe Cheok against the backdrop of the battle of Simha, up until one year after the end of the battle. Jo Wi-han provided simple descriptions of the rapid ascent of Nurhachi, the expedition of Choe Cheok, the victory of Qing forces, and the defeat of the Joseon-Ming allied armies, which was when Choe Cheok was taken captive. In addition to this, Ming's attitude of looking down on Qing's capability led the defeat and the generous attitude of Nurhachi toward Joseon were also described. However, the description of not killing a single Joseon solider did not coincide with the actual history. This description was given because the novel did not cite the left flank general Kim Eung-ha's heroic death in action or the death in battle of the 5,000 flanking soldiers. Jo Wi-han's exclusion of Kim Eung-ha's combat death appears to be intentional. Considering that since 1619, the Joseon King Gwanghaegun had been preparing for a ceremony in memory of Kim Eung-ha in order to dispel Ming's doubt,[8] Jo Wi-han intentionally focused the subject matter on the personal history of Choe Cheok, from his escape to his return to Joseon. As a result, in *Choe Cheok jeon*, the battle of Simha was less sensitive in the eyes of an author from the Joseon dynasty, and Jo Wi-han could depict an amicable attitude toward the Qing's army and Nurhachi.

The novel that includes the most detailed description of the battle of Simha is *Kang Ro jeon* by Kwon Chik (1599–1667), composed in 1630. *Kang Ro jeon* was written soon after the death of the historical figure the book used as the main character, Kang Hong-rip (1560–1627). In the novel, Gang was depicted as a negative character who represented the "ideology of revering the Ming and rejecting the Qing." The author described the battle of Simha as if he had seen it with his own eyes, using Kang Hong-rip as the main character.

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[8] King Gwanghaegun tried to dilute Ming's suspicion about Kang Hong-rip's surrender to the Qing, being deliberate in order to protect him. As part of such efforts, he appointed Kim Eung-ha to the position of Finance Minister and ordered people to build a shrine in his memory on a path through which many envoys came and went. This seems to be purposely displayed. See Han (2000, 239); and S. Lee (2003, 27–43).

> ③ At the battle, Nurhachi ordered Gwiyeongga to attack the Ming's army first by leading the armored soldiers, and then to obtain the surrender of the Joseon army. Gwiyeongga did so without hesitation (C. Kwon 1630, 453).
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> ④ There were dozens, hundreds, or a thousand soldiers camped in the 40- and 50-ri[9] area from Magachai to Simha. Ming and Joseon soldiers of the left flank rushed to kill the enemy, and the death toll by decapitation was great. However, the middle and right flank followed the left flank, and waited to see what the left flank had done.... It was the dawn of March 4. Jeong Yu made the soldiers depart by firing a cannon three times. His commanding voice sounded like thunder, and his spirit was like a storm (C. Kwon 1630, 459).
>
> ⑤ A 20-ri march led the army to Buchai castle. A village lined with houses under the mountain was captured. *Ming troops scattered to lay waste to the village, raising a battle cry. In the course of this, the ranks of the army collapsed* [author's emphasis] (C. Kwon 1630, 459).
>
> ⑥ At this time 30,000 soldiers equipped with iron weapons led by Gwiyeongga attacked from out of the valley, and the Ming army was abruptly wiped out (C. Kwon 1630, 459–460).
>
> ⑦ On the other hand, the army of barbarians rushed the left squad. Kim Eung-ha encouraged the soldiers to fight fiercely, and Qing soldiers were felled with an attack of bullets and arrows. Gwiyeongga drew his sword in order to encourage his soldiers, and 100 enemy cavalry soldiers took the lead to the mountain, with other soldiers then following. Even though our [Joseon] soldiers were running out of strength and the camps were destroyed, there was no one who tried to escape from the battle, and they fought to the death (C. Kwon 1630, 460).

As shown in ④, judging from the description of his voice sounding like thunder and his spirit being like a storm, the Ming army morale was high. However, once the ranks of the army collapsed, the situation grew helpless, and as shown in ⑤ and ⑥, the army was annihilated by the Qing. In contrast, Qing troops were described as having mobility and being in good order in ③ and ⑥. Kwon Chik depicted Kang Hong-rip in a negative manner, while depicting the Qing army as skilled and disciplined. This description of ③ and ⑥, while brief, show the secret of Qing victory. Excerpt ⑦ showed a scene in which the left flank took great risk and

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[9] One *ri* equals to 0.4 km.

resolutely fought back against the Qing army, specifically and dramatically describing the resolute look of the general of the left flank, Kim Eung-ha, until his heroic death in the fight against Qing. With this, Kim Eung-ha was described as a positive and heroic figure[10] in *Kang Ro jeon*, while *Kang Hong-rip* was described as a negative figure who lacked loyalty. Of course, such descriptions were far from the truth. The manipulation of the two figures seemed to be based on adoration for Ming and aversion to the barbarians (H. Park 1998, 50).

Kwon's description of Gang was distorted because he did not move his army under the pretext of King Gwanghaegun's secret letter and because of Gang's disinterest in the death of 5,000 soldiers left behind. Considering that *Kang Ro jeon* was written under the epochal background of the political situation of the Joseon dynasty that King Injo (1595–1649) and the political faction in power at the time adored the Ming and rejected peace with other countries by discrediting them as barbarians (S. Lee 2003)—Gang made an effort to express his belief that Joseon should show respect to the Ming, and he also wanted to criticize King Gwanghaegun's utilitarianism and realistic political line. Nevertheless, the contrast between the high spirits of the Qing and the helplessness of the Ming in the author's detailed citation and depiction of the progress of the battle should be noted.

The original text of *Kim Yeong-cheol jeon* was written by Kim Eung-won (1628–?) in the late seventeenth century (H. Kwon 2006, 98–108). The stories were later revised and published by Hong Se-tae, and other revised texts began to appear from the early eighteenth century. It was two or three generations after the battle of Simha that the story was novelized. The novel describes the battle as a fatal incident that changed the main character's life.

> ⑧ In 1618, there was a barbarian uprising in the north and they made several incursions along the border of the Great Nation [China?]. The Ming Emperor was enraged, and ordered Hao Yang, Ting Liu, and Iqi Qiao to lead the Ming army and attack the enemy. The Ming asked Joseon

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[10] Kim Eung-ha's activities were taken from *Kim janggun jeon* (The Tale of General Kim, 1619) and *Chungnyeollok* (The Record of Patriots, 1621). Kim's activities described in Kang Ro jeon were almost identical to those described in *Kim janggun jeon* and *Chungnyeollok*. The composition of these stories shows the appearance of literature under the control of a central government authority. These should thus be understood as more than simply a commemoration of an individual, but as a manifestation of the Joseon government's "ideology of revering the Ming and rejecting the Qing." In terms of the work of making Kim Eung-ha a hero, see S. Lee (2003, 27–43).

> to send reinforcements. Kang Hong-rip and Kim Gyeong-seo were appointed general and vice general respectively. They had the task of choosing 20,000 soldiers to take with them. Yeongyuh-yeon's Chief Magistrate Yi Yu-gil was appointed as the chief of the left flank; he selected soldiers from Yeongyu-hyeon and took them to General Kang Hong-rip. Yeong-cheol and his great-grandfather Yeong-hwa joined the army together (1).[11]
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> ⑨ The Joseon and Ming armies rushed deep into Gyeongmajeon, the strategic base of Ming. Kang Hong-rip suggested a strategy of joint attack. Hao Yang was very pleased with the idea, and gave 5,000 soldiers to General Kim Eung-ha, who took responsibility for the left squad to take the lead. The soldiers from Yeongyu belonged to the left squad, so Yeong-hwa and Yeong-cheol were all under subordinates of General Kim. On March 3, the army arrived at Umoryeong, and at daybreak on March 4, it fought against Qing's army. Nurhachi ordered his first son, Gwiyeongga, to defeat Hao Yang by giving him tens of thousands of soldiers. After Gwiyeongga was victorious over Hao Yang, they attacked the Joseon army (4–5).
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> ⑩ General Kim Eung-ha threw himself into the fierce fight all day long. His voice sounded like thunder, and his spirit was like a bolt of lightning. The second son of Nurhachi rushed in, clamoring at the top of his lungs, but was killed by Eung-ha's arrow. At this time, the enemy was taken slightly aback. When Gwiyeongga encouraged soldiers by brandishing a sword, a sudden attack was made on three sides. *Despite their strong fighting, Yi Yn-gil and Ko Su were killed, and not a single soldier tried to escape from the battle. All the soldiers fought 'til the end of their strength* [author's emphasis] (6).

In *Kim Yeong-cheol jeon*, the actual battle was described briefly, centering around the day of March 4, and the episodes that took place after the main character was captured were described in a more lengthy and detailed manner. As cited in ⑧, the author mentioned the rise of Nurhachi only briefly, while the organization of the Ming and Joseon armies were described in a more detailed manner. In this part, the episode of Kim Yeong-cheol's enlistment was mentioned. The major defeat of the Ming and Joseon forces by the Qing's army was described briefly in ⑨. The rise of the Qing and the heroic death of Kim Eung-ha on the battlefield were described in a similar manner to that of *Kang Ro jeon*. As shown in ⑩, Kim was as heroic as in *Kang Ro jeon*, and his prominent role in the battlefield was also described in detail. In addition, the activities and the death

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[11] The Collection of Bak Jae-yeon, *Kim Yeong-cheol jeon*.

of Yeongyu-hyeon's Chief Magistrate Yi Yu-gil and Ko Su were added to *Kim Yeong-cheol jeon*.

The story of Kim Yeong-cheol is continued as Kim survived the battle. He became a Qing captive and household slave. The stories of Kim's enslavement period have both historical and literary significance in part because they provide some information on the 700 Joseon soldiers who were taken captive and never returned to Joseon.

Generosity of Nurhachi and Huangtaiji

Historic novels provide learning and reading about what historical figures say and do. In *Kang Ro jeon* and *Kim Yeong-cheol jeon*, Nurhachi, the founding father of the Manchu Qing dynasty, and the second emperor Huangtaiji (1592–1643), personally met the main characters of the novels, and were involved in their lives. Through these descriptions, readers can vicariously experience an encounter with the emperor of an enemy country, and perceive their personalities and generosity. In *Kang Ro jeon*, scenes such as Nurhachi's personal interview with Kang Hong-rip, in which he asks him to write a letter to solidify ties with the Joseon dynasty, and the appointment of Kang Hong-rip by Huangtaiji, appear in lengthy, descriptive passages. Two of these are as follows.

> ① One day, Nurhachi held a big party at Jianzhou castle for all of the warriors of his army. Dressed in silk, all of the warriors took seats on the west side, at equal distances apart. Hong-rip was in the upper part of the row, while Kim Gyeong-seo was in the lower part.... After formal bows were exchanged between the two sides, Nurhachi held a goblet in his right hand and grabbed Hong-rip's hand in his left, saying, "A man who does not recognize the value of a man who shared a common spirit as I do is not a real man. Though we were born far apart, we met in battle, and this was not just due to chance. What I am pleased with is not the fact that we, Qing, defeated the Ming army, but that I gained you. Therefore, I will show you all of the things in the repository so that I can build a frank relationship with you. I will also introduce you to my wife and daughters, so that we can build an inseparable relationship between the two of us" (464–465).
>
> ② Nurhachi laughed, saying, "What you've said is not right. Joseon is easy to invade, but the Joseon people are hard to subjugate due to their respect for politeness.... The best strategy we can take is to enter into friendly relations with Joseon in the east and fight against China in the south to conquer the Yanjing (present Beijing) area and then wait for the time when heaven will allow us to have the whole world. *And in ancient times, even a man is on his last legs, he did not dare to make*

> *the master he once served a slave. Why do yon consider your country an enemy like this?* [author's emphasis]" (472–473).

The writer of the above, Kwon Chik, described Kang as a negative character who abandoned his loyalty to the Ming and later betrayed his country, while Nurhachi was portrayed as a positive character who loved his people with all his heart. Kwon Chik presents Nurchachi as a generous warrior who did not take advantage of Kang Hong-rip with sweet talk, but faithfully opened his heart to him, treated him politely, and finally made him a close confidant.[12] As shown in excerpt ①, he introduced his wife and daughters to Kang, and remarked that he would give him his daughter's hand in marriage. Nurhachi left the selection of the new capital in Shenyang in the hands of Kang. Kwon Chik described that Hong-rip successfully completed his mission of the construction of the new Qing capital.[13]

Excerpt ② showed what Nurhachi said when Kang Hong-rip appealed to him to conquer Joseon. Kang Hong-rip felt the betrayal of his country upon hearing the lie from Han Yun, who had escaped from Joseon, that his family members had all been killed. So, Kang Hong-rip made a few harsh remarks such as the defeat of Joseon and a change of kings. These episodes were of course imaginary, created by the author, and are very much different from reality. According to a study by Ko Yun Soo, while Kang was in detention as a captive, he played an important role in resolving misunderstandings that arose from Joseon envoys, in speaking for Joseon's interests, and in alleviating conflicts between the Qing and Joseon (Ko 2004, 78–88). The description of Kang as not simply a person who discarded his loyalty to the Ming but as a rebellious subject who betrayed his country was based on the author's perspective of deification of the Ming and the hatred of the Qing (H. Park 1998, 96). Nevertheless, Nurhachi instructed Kang to maintain a polite relationship with people from his home country, but also realizing Kang's ambition to be the king of Joseon, did not grant his request. This showed a ruler who was not blinded by Kang's remarks, and had a thorough understanding of Qing power on which he could base his own strategy.

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[12] The historical record depicts how Nurhachi and Huangtaiji won over talented individuals from other countries to support the Manchu by offering them positions in the government or military, which greatly helped the solidification of the Qing dynasty (Im 2000, 33).

[13] *Kang Ro jeon*, pp. 469–470.

The following is an excerpt from *Choe Cheok jeon*. When Choe Cheok met his son in prison, the contrast between Qing and Joseon politics can be seen from the remark of an elderly soldier.

> ③ An elderly Qing soldier said, "*There is nothing to worry about. I was once a Joseon soldier in Sakju, Pyeongando. It's been ten years since I and my family moved here to Manchu, since the deputy delegate plundered the village so badly. The people here are honest and do not harm others. Life is empty like morning dew. Why do people lead a crouching life, bearing the tyranny of government officials?* [author's emphasis] Nurhachi gave me eighty selected soldiers, ordered me to keep watch over the Joseon people. However, what you are saying is so surprising to me. I will be reproved later, but how can I not set you free?" (440).

This soldier who kept watch over Choe Cheok and his son was an immigrant from Joseon who had escaped from the tyranny of government officials in his homeland. In comparison to Joseon, there was no exploitation in Qing territories, and relatively fair compensation was given for meritorious deeds. Nurhachi appointed him as an officer to conduct this important duty. This shows Nurhachi's magnanimity and his policy of opening the offices to the talented, without discrimination by nationality. This is an almost fictitious story. Jo Wi-han seemed to criticize the imposition of heavy taxes on people by Joseon government officials, and the reality of the fact that the Joseon government had failed to open its offices to the talented, and the old soldier's remarks brought the positive aspects of Qing's politics into relief.

On the other hand, in *Kim Yeong-cheol jeon*, Kim Yeong-cheol found the quality of a ruler who could unify the nation in the second leader, Huangtaiji.

> ④ The commander-in-chief of the Qing stared toward the south for a long time and then said, "Yeong-cheol was a Joseon person by nature, but he has been one of our people for six years. As a person of the Ming he lived another six years, and then although he became a Joseon person again, the Joseon people are also ours. He escaped at the risk of death, but he is bowing to me as an interpreter between the two countries, which is not mere chance. Moreover, his first son is in our squad, and second son is in Jianzhou, and they are all my sons. Are the two sons in Ming's territory not my subjects? Judging from this, it will not be too long before I unify the world. How can I find this man guilty?" (61–63).

Huangtaiji's remark above occurred during a scene in which Yeong-cheol, instead of a Joseon warrior, met the second Qing emperor as an interpreter after the battle of Jinzhou 錦州 (641). When he was about to leave after bowing, Yeong-cheol's former master Arana told the emperor that Yeong-cheol had escaped on horseback and asked the emperor to punish him. His remark is noteworthy in that at that time he did not consider the link between Joseon and Ming/Qing as disconnected but rather considered Yeong-cheol's appearance to be propitious, which he believe would enable the emperor to get the entire world because Yeong-cheol's family was then scattered in the three countries. Huangtaiji not only forgave Yeong-cheol but also gave him ten rolls of silk, a horse, and a mule as reward. With these items, Yeong-cheol paid the former master for his grace and expressed his appreciation for the grace to his own family. Such depictions showed that Huangtaiji's magnanimity was large enough to be an emperor.

Like this, the remarks and behaviors of Nurhachi and Huangtaiji shown in *Kang Ro jeon, Choe Cheok jeon*, and *Kim Yeong-cheol jeon* show characters with a magnanimity that was large enough to gain people and the entire world. Although a series of wars with Qing did great damage to Joseon both spiritually and financially, how we can evaluate the writers' positive descriptions of the kings of the enemy country?

Writers' Consciousness and Sentiment of Qing Deification

After the Manchu invasion of Joseon in 1636, elite voices in Joseon demanded that the government carry out a military expedition to attempt to conquer the Qing. These sentiments were largely based on the powerful ideology in the kingdom that deified the Ming and vilify the Qing as barbarians. For 200 years after the war, this ideology continued to influence politics and culture of Joseon society.

Kang Man-Gil (1994, 65–66) has criticized the ruling class that they blocked the only route through which advanced culture could be imported and allowed the country to fall into political strife, which caused the dynasty to exist in a state of isolationism, where the door was closed to other cultures. Further, Lee Samsung has claimed that the Qing embraced people of the Ming and transformed the country into the center of the world, and that it could unify the nation and manage the empire by promoting the ideal of the coexistence of diverse peoples and a system of integration. At that time, Korea called itself "Little China" based on absolute discrimination between traditional China and barbarians, which resulted in Joseon adopting a rigid political ideology (S. Lee 2009, 589–590). Based on such scholarly interpretations, the expedition to conquer the Qing and the "ideology of revering the Ming and rejecting the Qing" prevented Korea from introducing advanced foreign culture and opening avenues to advancement to those who were talented. All of these caused the dynasty to become even more secluded and rigid.

On the other hand, from a slightly different perspective, Han Myung-gi takes note that Koreans who encountered people and cultural products from the Qing gradually had positive feelings about the Qing dynasty. This began to occur right after the Manchu invasion of Joseon in 1636 in such records as *Injo sillok* (The Veritable Record of King Injo), *Seunjeongwon ilgi* (Daily Records of the Royal Secretariat), and *Simyang ilseung* (Shenyang Diary), in contrast with the records of mainstream writers at the time which thoroughly promoted an attitude of Neo-Confucian righteousness (Han 2009, 383–391).

Under the atmosphere of the times, *Kang Ro jeon* and *Kim Yeong-cheol jeon* were written in a manner that acknowledged Qing as a new leading power in Northeast Asia, and thus the magnanimity and ambition of Qing were depicted in a realistic manner. Jo Wi-han depicted Qing amicably because the government held no prejudice against the selection of talented persons and the leaders of the dynasty did not appear to be greedy or tyrannical. *Kang Ro jeon* was the most outstanding in terms of depicting an overall hatred for the Qing, including a focus on disparaging Kang Hong-rip, though in specific episodes, Nurhachi and Huangtaiji were depicted in a favorable manner. The Qing Emperor, who wanted to conquer all China, had consistent and concrete strategies and a powerful army of his own, and was also described as a man of magnanimity and personality; in other words, he was a true leader. In *Kim Yeong-cheol jeon*, Nurhachi was depicted as a man of magnanimity like a real emperor who governed a large country. The author described that Nurhachi considered Kim Yeong-cheol's connections throughout the three countries to be propitious, and provided opportunities for him to show his magnanimity as a leader to reign over the entire world. However, General Yu Rim, Yeong-cheol's actual superior, offered nothing to Yeong-cheol for his distinguished service but imposed a great debt to the government out of a personal grudge, which made Yeong-cheol poor for the rest of his life. The author deplored the fact that there was no "reward" for loyalty and filial piety by the Joseon government, by showing the contrast between the personal grudge of the Confucian scholar of Joseon and the magnanimity of Nurhachi.

Jo Wi-han of *Choe Cheok jeon*, Kwon Chik of *Kang Ro jeon*, and Kim Eung-won of *Kim Yeong-cheol jeon* emphasized neither national consciousness nor vengeful sentiment toward the Qing. In addition, they acknowledged the changing order of reality centered around Qing power in Northeast Asia, while showing reverence to Nurhachi and Huangtaiji for opening opportunities to the talented without discrimination and offering fair rewards to those who rendered distinguished service. Particularly, what made Jo Wi-han and Kim Eung-won emphasize the positive images of the Manchu? After directly experiencing the Qing at the battle of Simha, they gained an objective recognition of the changes in China they saw and heard, escaping from their nominal Sinocentrism. In addition, the main characters of the works would get help rather than damage or harm from the Qing. This had some impact on changing the writers' consciousness about the reality of the Joseon dynasty. Jo Wi-han and Kim Eung-won narrated the suffering families experienced because of separation caused by war and the arduousness of life in *Choe Cheok jeon* and *Kim Yeong-cheol jeon*. In addition, by describing politics and leaders of Qing in a positive light, the authors may have been attempting to criticize the incompetence and corruption of their own society, as the Joseon sociopolitical structure neither provided any appropriate rewards for those who had rendered distinguished services nor selected fit persons.

In contrast to the abovementioned works, novels that showed negative images of the Qing such as *Bae Si-hwang jeon* and *Im Gyeong-eop jeon* should also be discussed. *Bae Si-hwang jeon* is a story about the Joseon army that defeated the Russian marine force at the Heungnyonggang river in 1658. The novel narrates the activities and joys and sorrows of General Sin Ryu and his subordinate Bae Si-hwang. *Bae Si-hwang jeon* is the first novel assumed to have been written in the late seventeenth century (H. Kwon 1997, 230–231) in which the Qing was first acknowledged as the new leader of China through the use of the term "Qing dynasty" as the official name of the country and "Shunzhi 順治" as the name of the era and the emperor. Despite doing so, the content and tone of the novel was not amicable to the Qing dynasty. On the contrary, the content and tone revealed the perspective of the deep disbelief in and the "victim" mentality toward the Qing.[14]

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[14] In the first part of the story, the Qing's army was described negatively as powerless. At the end of the novel, the writer showed Generals Sin Ryu and Bae Si-hwang, who agonized over the arrogance and supremacy of the Qing, even though they had won a decisive victory over the Russian marine force. In addition, the Qing was described as being double-faced in the novel in that while they mobilized the armies of other neighboring countries in order to save their people and supplies, the Qing did not trust in them and used them in highly dispersed deployments.

Im Gyeong-eop jeon is a late seventeenth-century (or later) Korean novel with many different versions (H. Cho 1997, 127). In relation to the Qing, the writer described a critical conflict between the Qing Emperor and Im Gyeong-eop in which the scars of the Manchu invasion of Joseon in 1636 are seen. In Im Gyeong-eop jeon, Im and the writer had hostile feelings toward the Qing because the Manchu had attacked Korea, forgetting the gratitude it had gotten from them, and seriously damaged and humiliated the dynasty, as well as taking the Joseon princes hostage. The Qing invasion and subsequent political humiliation produced hatred among toward the Qing, which the writers described in detail.[15] Almost the same sentiment can be found in *Bakssi buin jeon*, which can be seen as a sister volume.

As has thus far been shown, the novels about the battle of Sima, including *Choe Cheok jeon, Kang Ro jeon*, and *Kim Yeong-cheol jeon*, negatively depicted Qing on the surface, yet these writers acknowledged the entity of the Qing dynasty underneath, granting positive images to the main characters. However, the novels in Korean whose historic background is the Manchu invasion of 1636 such as in *Im Gyeong-eop jeon* and *Bakssi buin jeon* focus on the psychological humiliation and physical damage caused by the Manchu invasion, couched within language of strong national consciousness. Few novels used the Qing as direct background material, but such novels as *Im Gyeong-eop jeon* and *Bakssi buin jeon* enjoyed a great reputation among the public. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many unknown writers numerously adopted some repertoires such as *Im Gyeong-eop jeon* and *Bakssi buin jeon* and as a result the negative images of the Qing were reproduced and a vengeful sentiment emerged.

However, the Manchu invasion of Joseon in 1636 is evaluated as having played a significant role in creating the genre of the war novel, which was popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In war novels, no material related to the Manchu War was depicted on the surface. Seo Dae-seok said that the reality of the time when the Manchu War broke out, including the conflict between those who wanted to fight against the Qing and those who advocated peace, and incidents of soldiers and the queen and the royal concubines being taken as captives because Ganghwado island fell into the enemy's hands, were reflected in such novels. From the fact that Song and Ming, which were established by Chinese people, were set as the main character's homeland, while Qing was set as a country of barbaric outsiders, it can be interpreted as a reflection of the authors' vengeful sentiment toward the Qing following the Manchu invasion (Seo 2008, 28). When a historical incident or character was fictitiously created without any contextual meaning in history and reality, Qing was portrayed as cunning from an ethical perspective, and fixed as villains who disturbed the conventional order from a political perspective.

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[15] For this part, refer to *Im janggun jeon* (The Tale of General Im), printed in Seoul, twenty-seventh book of the collection, pp. 9–12.

Since then, in Korean literature, actual images of the Qing dynasty have been captured in the writings of Hong Dae-yeong (1731–1783), Bak Ji-won (1737–1809), and Bak Je-ga (1750–1805?), who had been to Beijing as envoys in the late eighteenth century.[16] When Bak Ji-won keenly satirized the nominal ideology of expedition to conquer the Qing at the end of *Heosaeng jeon* (The Tale of Heo Saeng), a story published in his three-volume *Yeolha ilgi* (Jehol Diary), he emphasized the ideology of practical learning. It was to renew Joseon by giving credit to the advancement of the Qing's civilization and focusing on economic enrichment in national management (Kye 2009a, 167–168).

Conclusion

In this article, I analyzed the memories of the Manchu invasions and the manner in which literary descriptions of the Qing dynasty were made in *Choe Cheok jeon, Kang Ro jeon, Kim Yeong-cheol jeon, Bakssi buin jeon*, and others. The descriptions of the battle of Simha (1619) used as subject matter for those novels and the portrayals of the historical figures of Nurhachi and Huangtaiji were analyzed in order to identify the perceptions toward the Qing dynasty implied in the novel texts in the change from Ming to Qing.

The battle of Simha was depicted concretely in *Choe Cheok jeon, Kang Ro jeon*, and *Kim Yeong-cheol jeon*. The writers described the orderly and powerful Qing army in a positive manner. Even writing in an era in which

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[16] *Nogajae yeonhaeng* (Diary of Nogaje Kim Chang-eop), *Eulbyeong yeonhaeng* (Diary of Hong Dae-yong), and *Yeolha ilgi* (Jehol Diary) by Bak Ji-won were all written in a diary style, kept during the course of visits to Qing as envoys. These records showed that the writers' viewpoints changed from negative to positive at the point of time they saw the reality of the Qing dynasty in person. For instance, Hong Dae-yong pointed out that even though the Qing was called was called barbaric, the dynasty had ruled over China in peace for one hundred years, and acknowledged its power. He said that he wanted to see the size of the country and the disposition of the people, and he actively learned the culture of the Qing during his visit. See more detailed description in K. Cho (2004, 250–274).

the perceptions of the Qing Dynasty were negative, the authors of *Choe Cheok jeon, Kang Ro jeon*, and *Kim Yeong-cheol jeon* realistically accepted the reorganized power structure centered around the Qing, and the emperors of the enemy country, Nurhachi and Huangtaiji, were described respectfully as positive characters with magnanimity who could gain the trust of the people and unify all of China. This description of the Qing is the result of the conscious efforts of the writers to objectively understand the entity of the new Manchu powers and critically reflect on Joseon politics. Except for these, however, Qing was depicted negatively in many war novels, including *Im Gyeong-eop jeon* and *Bakssi buin jeon*, in which a retaliatory spirit can be seen either implicitly or outwardly.

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The Manchus, we commonly read, began a process of irreversible Sinification shortly after their victory of 1644 and steered in terminable decline towards ethnic assimilation before they were finally relegated to the history books in 1911. The May Fourth generation regarded Manchus as alien imperialists, who subdued the vitality of the Han-Chinese majority, so that another wave of alien imperialists could force China into a straight-jacket of Unequal Treaties. However, since the 1980s a far more nuanced picture is emerging, based on hitherto unknown archival documents in Manchu. The present 4 volumes, with their state-of-the-art selection of academic articles in English, exemplify this latest stage in the historical analysis of the Manchus in modern Chinese history, characterised by the reversal of previous ideological considerations.

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